

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Committee of Publication.

GEORGE DEXTER.

SAMUEL A. GREEN.

CHARLES C. SMITH.





# "The Crossed Swords."



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PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
Massachusetts Historical Society.

VOL. XVIII.

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1880-1881.

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## PREFATORY NOTE.

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THE Committee for publishing the Proceedings of the MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY present in this volume the record of the meetings of the Society from April, 1880, to June, 1881, inclusive. Agreeably to the Society's custom, the stated meetings for July and August were dispensed with in each year. This volume contains then the record of thirteen meetings, embracing, among other interesting and valuable communications, the relation of the Sagadahoc colony, being a transcript of a manuscript used in an abridged form by Strachey, in his "*Historie of Travaile*," with preface and notes by Mr. De Costa, offered to the Society through Mr. Deane; Professor Young's paper on the subjects of the orations for the degree of Master of Arts at Harvard College, from 1655 to 1791; Mr. Emerson's essay on Thomas Carlyle; Dr. Ellis's remarks on the poem "*The King's Mis-sive*," with his and Mr. Whittier's letters on the same; Mr. Ames's account of the part taken by Massachusetts in the expedition against Carthagera under Admiral Vernon; and the President, Mr. Winthrop's paper on the portrait of John Hampden at Washington.

The volume contains also memoirs of thirteen deceased Resident Members;—that of the Hon. John G. King, by William P. Upham; of the Hon. John A. Andrew, by Peleg W. Chandler; of Mr. Lemuel Shattuck, by Charles Hudson; of the Hon. Thomas G. Cary, by J. Elliot Cabot; of Joseph E. Worcester, LL.D., by Dr. William Newell; of the Rev.

Charles Brooks, by Solomon Lincoln ; of Mr. Sylvester Judd, by Charles Deane ; of Mr. George Sumner, by Robert C. Waterston ; of the Rev. Dr. Edmund H. Sears, by Chandler Robbins ; of the Hon. Nathan Hale, by Samuel K. Lothrop ; of the Hon. George R. Russell, by Theodore Lyman ; of Gen. William H. Sumner, by Alonzo H. Quint ; and that of Mr. Robert M. Mason, by Robert C. Winthrop, Jr. The unusually large number of these papers in this volume is due to the action of the Society in January, 1880, in appointing a special committee on memoirs of deceased resident members [see *Proceedings*, Vol. XVII., pp. 299, 314, 315], and to the vigorous efforts of the chairman of that committee. It is hoped that the succeeding volume may include almost all of the overdue tributes of this kind owing by the Society.

For the frontispiece of the volume the Committee have selected a heliotype of the crossed swords of Colonel Prescott and Captain Linzee, which, after adorning the library of a distinguished historian for many years, have rested over the entrance to the Dowse Library since 1859. This heliotype was made originally for the Bunker Hill Monument Association to illustrate the address of Mr. Winthrop at the unveiling of the statue of Col. Prescott, June 17, 1881. The other illustrations are : — a portrait of Governor Andrew at page 41 ; and an albertype of his dedicatory inscription in a book by Mrs. Child, given by him to his sisters while he was still a college student, opposite page 47. Mr. Chandler, to whose kindness the Society are indebted for the use of the negative of the portrait, says that the Governor thought this the best likeness taken of him. At page 94 will be found a heliotype facsimile of the title-page of the manuscript relating to the Sagadahoc colony, used by Strachey in his "*Historie of Travaile*." The memoir of Dr. Worcester is illustrated by his portrait at page 169, and that of the Rev. Charles Brooks by his portrait at page 174. An excellent portrait of Mr. Mason is prefixed to Mr. R. C. Winthrop, Jr.'s memoir of

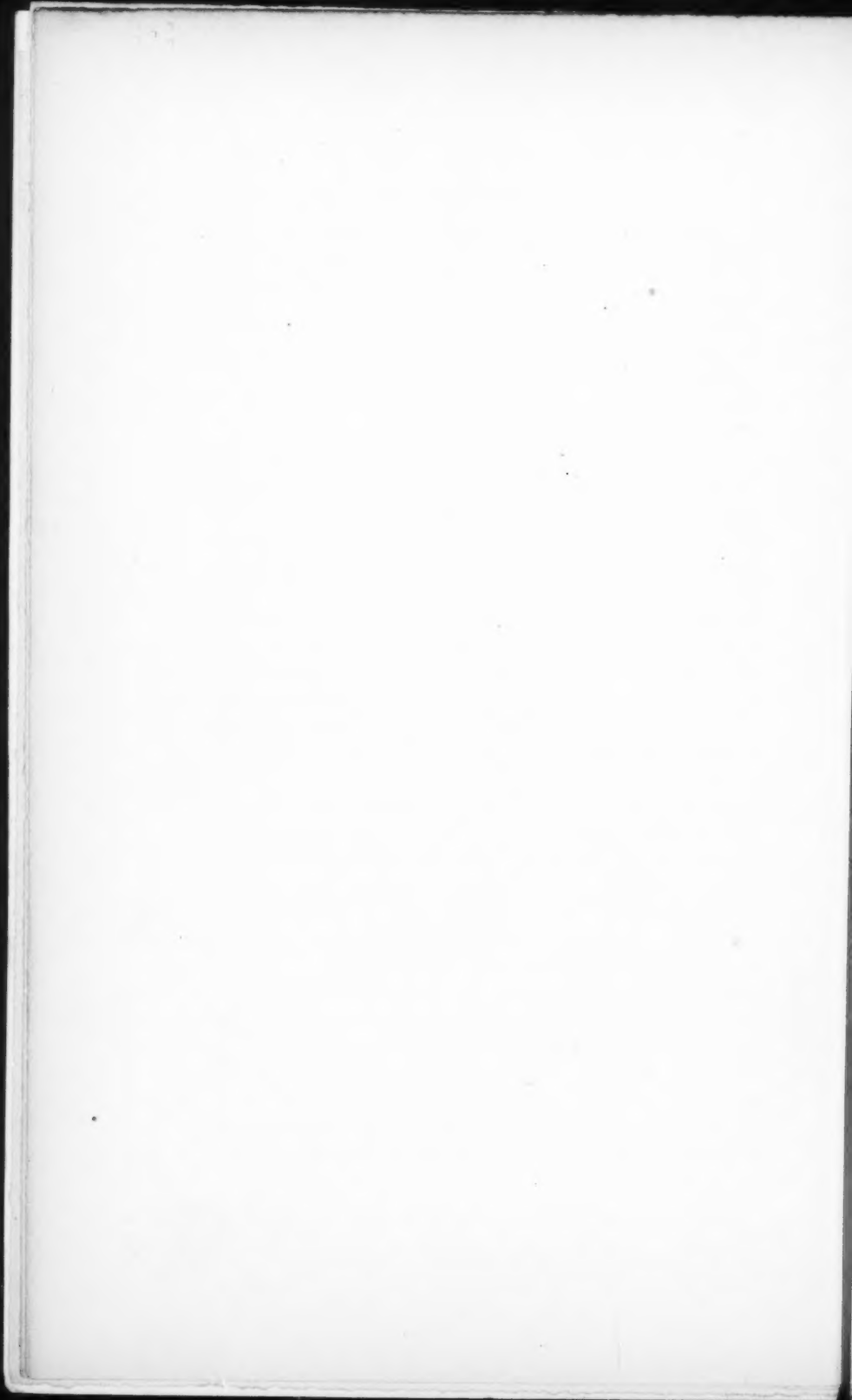


him at page 302. This portrait and that of Mr. Brooks were kindly furnished by the families of these gentlemen. And finally between pages 318 and 319 is placed a reduced facsimile in heliotype of the earliest known print of Price's view of Harvard College.

The Recording Secretary is *ex officio* chairman of the committee to publish these proceedings. The undersigned found himself unable to perform the duties of his office last October, and was obliged to spend the eight following months in Europe. The Society declined, in a very complimentary manner, to accept his resignation, and his friend, the Rev. Henry W. Foote, kindly agreed to act as Secretary *pro tempore*. The Rev. Edward G. Porter also acted at one meeting which Mr. Foote was unable to attend. To the generous labors of these gentlemen, and to the other members of the committee, Messrs. Smith and Green, the Society are indebted for the preparation of the larger part of the volume.

GEORGE DEXTER.

Boston, August 18, 1881.



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OF THE  
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ELECTED APRIL 8, 1881.

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## MEMBERS DECEASED.

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*Resident, Honorary, and Corresponding Members, who have died since the publication of the List of Members in the last volume of the Proceedings, May 14, 1880; or of whose death information has been received since that date.*

### *Resident.*

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# PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

## MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL, 1880.

THE Annual Meeting was held at the rooms in Boston, on Tuesday, the 6th day of April (Thursday, the stated day, having been appointed by the Governor of the Commonwealth for the Annual Fast), at 3 o'clock P. M.; the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

Agreeably to usage, the business of the stated monthly meeting was first taken up.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the previous meeting, and it was approved.

The Librarian reported the donations to the Library since the last meeting, making special mention of the gift of about fifty volumes relating to the history of the late Rebellion from an Associate Member, Mr. Amos A. Lawrence, whose large and continuous liberality in this direction had made the Society's collection of books on this subject one of the most valuable in the country. Mr. James F. Hunnewell had given a copy of his "Records of the First Church in Charlestown";\* and Mr. Henry H. Edes, a large paper copy of his "History of the Harvard Church," of the same place.

There was received also for the Library, at the meeting, a gift from Mr. Winthrop, — a copy of a sumptuous volume, "The Particular Description of England, 1588," by William Smith (Rouge Dragon), just published, in a limited edition for subscribers only, from the manuscript in the British Museum; and a copy of the "Analytical Index to the Series

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\* Mr. Hunnewell writes that this volume contains thirty per cent more matter than his contributions to the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, and that he has had privately printed an edition of only sixty-two copies. — Eds.

of Records known as the Remembrancia, 1579-1664." \* Through the President there were received also a new volume of "Transactions" from the Royal Historical Society of London, and a volume of "Letters by Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and others, to John Langdon, New Hampshire," from Dr. Alfred Langdon Elwyn, of Philadelphia.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter from Mr. Frederic De Peyster, accepting his election as an Honorary Member.

The President then announced the death of a Resident Member, as follows:—

We have lost a worthy and excellent Associate Member, within a few days past, by the death of the Rev. George Punchard, to whose memory I am not prepared to pay any adequate tribute this afternoon, but whose loss cannot fail to be regretted by us all. Graduated at Dartmouth, and prepared for the ministry at Andover, he was for fourteen or fifteen years the pastor of a church in Plymouth, New Hampshire. Retiring from the ministry in 1844, he has since devoted himself to the work of the press, in connection with the "Boston Traveller," to the work of the Tract Society, and more especially to the preparation and publication of a valuable "History of Congregationalism," the enlarged edition of which, in three volumes, was published in 1865-67. He was elected a Resident Member of this Society in 1870, and has been a frequent and always welcome attendant at our meetings. He died, somewhat suddenly, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, on Friday morning last, and his funeral was largely attended on Saturday. I am instructed by the Council to submit the following Resolution:—

*Resolved*,—That we have heard with sincere sorrow the announcement of the death of our valued Associate, the Rev. George Punchard; and that the President be requested to appoint one of our number to prepare a Memoir of him for the Society's Proceedings.

The Rev. Dr. DEKTER said he could not allow the customary motion to be passed without a word of tribute to the life-work of their departed friend, one of whose excellences was a modesty which would shrink from any extended eulogistic reference, even in a friendly circle like this.

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\* See Proceedings for December, 1870, pp. 206, 207.—Eds.



Mr. Punchard came of a good old Puritan stock. And when in his first and only pastorate he encountered some necessity of discussing the principles of the fathers, his interest in the subject led him on until he had elaborated the substance of sermons first delivered to his own congregation into a modest little 12mo, entitled, "A View of Congregationalism." This volume attracted the favorable regard of Christians of that name, and, passing through several editions, filled an honorable and useful place in ecclesiastical literature. His enthusiasm, thus awakened toward the general theme, never flagged, and he soon after prepared "A History of Congregationalism," also in small 12mo form. This was good, though meagre, and had its chief value in that it led him on to broader and larger studies of the same general character. When compelled, by the throat disease which eventually ended his life, to leave the pulpit, he removed from Plymouth, N. H., to this city, and became one of the early proprietors and editors of the "Daily Evening Traveller," with which he was long connected. His brief leisure he devoted to the pursuance of the old theme, until the last issue of his "History" already fills three sizable volumes, while the stereotyping of a fourth was nearly completed at the time of his death; and he left to his nephew and literary executor, Professor George B. Jewett, the manuscript of a fifth and concluding volume, it is believed nearly or quite ready for the press.

This history covers a period from about A.D. 250, to the present time, and is particularly full in its details of many little-known portions of those centuries.

Mr. Punchard, as a matter of course for one tethered as he was, was compelled to depend entirely upon authorities which may be handled here. Had his health and his occasions favored his going abroad, where he could have both enlarged and corrected Strype and Collier, and Brook, Neal, and Hanbury, by a reference to such of their original authorities as remain still within scholarly reach, with multitudes of others which were to them unknown, or little known, he might, and doubtless would, have largely increased the permanent usefulness of his work. As it is, however, it will remain a creditable monument of his unwearied diligence, an unconscious revelation of the quiet goodness of his own heart, and a helpful contribution to good letters.

Dr. DEXTER closed with the expression of the desire that we may always be fortunate enough to have within this select fellowship, workers of as tireless an enthusiasm, scholars of

as much patient fidelity, and men of as guileless and gracious a temper, as was this our brother, whose face we shall no more recognize among us.

The Resolution was unanimously adopted.

The Rev. Edward G. Porter, of Lexington, was elected a Resident Member, and Mr. James M. Le Moine, President of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society, a Corresponding Member.

The President announced that arrangements had been made for the publication of another volume of Winthrop Papers, without expense to the treasury of the Society, and appointed as the Committee on that volume, Messrs. C. C. Smith, G. Dexter, and R. C. Winthrop, Jr.

He stated also that our Honorary Member, Mr. Grigsby, in a letter lately received, referred to the loss the Society had sustained in the death of Mr. Frothingham: —

"I still grieve for the death of Mr. Frothingham. He was very kind to me during my visit in 1867, and I have received since from him some valuable tokens of his good-will. His works will keep his memory fresh in future times; and the volumes of your Proceedings will furnish some bright and unfading wreaths for his brow. His genial nature made a deep impression upon me; for I saw him not only in general society, but at his own hearth, and in the midst of his sweet and intellectual daughters. What grieves me more is that he passed away before his time, and when I thought that years of honorable labors were yet in store for him. I shall touch his works tenderly as I open them, — and I open them often from time to time."

The President communicated a Diary kept by Edward Taylor on his voyage from England to this country in 1668; to which the writer had added some particulars of his life in Harvard College, from which he graduated with the class of 1671, and of his call to the ministry, and his winter journey to Westfield, over whose church he was settled as its first pastor. This diary belonged to Judge Henry W. Taylor, of Canandaigua, New York, a descendant of the writer, who kindly offered the Society the privilege of printing it in the Proceedings.

Edward Taylor was born at Sketchley, in Leicestershire, about 1642, and previous to his emigration to New England he had studied at an English university, and had prepared himself for the sacred ministry, although from the form of words used by him in this diary he does not appear to have been ordained, or to have received a license to preach. The

sufferings of the dissenting clergy after the restoration of Charles II., and his antimonarchical principles, which Judge Taylor states appear in his early writings, doubtless caused Edward Taylor's removal from his native land. He served the church in Westfield for nearly sixty years, until his death in 1729, during much of the time acting as physician to the body as well as the soul, there being no doctor in the town. His daughter, Kezia, became the mother of President Stiles of Yale College, to whom many of Mr. Taylor's books and manuscripts descended. He was a somewhat prolific writer, in poetry as well as prose, leaving, it is said, a large number of manuscript volumes. He enjoined his heirs, previous to his death, not to publish any of his writings.

Accounts of Mr. Taylor may be found in a letter from Judge Henry W. Taylor to the editor of the "Annals of the American Pulpit," vol. i. pp. 177-181; and in the "Westfield Jubilee," the bi-centennial of the incorporation of the town.

Mr. WINTHROP stated also that Mr. Sibley's second volume of Harvard Graduates would contain a full biography of him; and expressed a hope that this diary might prove to be of assistance in that work.

A.D. 1668. April 26, being Lord's Day, at between ten and eleven at night, I came for sea, taking boat at Execution Dock, Wapping, with another, [a] gentlewoman, and had a smooth tide, a gentle gale of wind, and a prosperous fare to Gravesend about four on the second day; and then the wind arose and the water was rough, and so continued that tide. About nine o'clock, we being despatched, we waited for passengers till almost night. At night we removed about a league.

Tuesday, 28. In the morning, having a fair sail, on we went, and about eight of the clock we were over against Chatham, and the wind being somewhat contrary, we cast anchor and continued till toward six o'clock at night, and then striking sail we came to the Downs, and there dismissed our pilot, and some of our company went to Deal, [?] and there continued till the next day, the wind being contrary.

Wednesday, 29. In the morning the ship was blown so that the buoy of the anchor was under the rudder of the ship; the wind was still contrary and somewhat high. At noon the ship-master went ashore and came no more [?] that day. At evening his boat had liked [to] have been lost, the winds being still high and contrary.

Thursday, 30. We are forced to tarry, the winds remaining contrary.

On Friday, May 1, we are forced to tarry, for the winds were still contrary, lying in the west. Then there came a [torn] of merchant that were bound for Barbadoes [torn] with the ship-masters, then also

[*torn*] London, and another to Sketchly.\* At night the winds were high.

But on Saturday, May 2, in the morning we were set upon with a violent storm, insomuch that the seamen began to apprehend the ship to be in great danger, and in looking to their cables and tacklings were wet through to the skin. The waves flashed over the ship. The mate, in his hastening to his business, would oft hasten the men with this motive, that if the cable should break it was as much as all our lives were worth. The forecastle of the ship was filled ankle-deep flowed with water, and he said he were there till the water ran out of the waist of his breeches. But about ten of the clock the storm was over, and in the evening the sun set very clear. I being on the deck heard a trumpet play most curiously in one of the king's men-of-war. I also then saw a porpoise swimming along the water.

On the Lord's Day, May 3, I had a sad forenoon, but toward evening the ship-master sent for me and enjoined me to go to prayer with them.

On Monday, May 4, the wind still remained in the north-west, contrary to us, but it was a comfortable day.

On Tuesday, May 5, we had fair weather, but a west wind. Still about four in the afternoon two of the king's men-of-war came and fired, where before the report of the gun there first gave a flash like lightning, then arose a thick smoke like as out [*torn*], and after that the burst.

Wednesday, May 6, was a fair day, but the wind [*torn*]. At night about one o'clock [*torn*] water, crying out for help, who with much ado was saved, though almost drowned before. He belongs to the man-of-war called the "Admiral," and affirms that there came one out before him to swim away, but what was become of him, whether drowned or not, he knew not.

On Thursday, May 7, in the morning the wind was fair for us, and therefore we hoisted up sail and on forward. And when the master called to prayer the mate was backward, saying that our course was so short that we should turn before half an hour, insomuch that tarrying till we had passed that place. And so we were put off, but when we had sailed about three leagues as was supposed, and come over against the South Point, the wind turned and was south-west, just against us, insomuch that we and many more other ships were fain to fall sail, and so were drove back to the Downs again, about two leagues and a half, and there we cast anchor, the wind being somewhat high. But in the evening it was very comfortable weather, but a contrary wind.

Friday, May 8, was a clear day, but windy.

Saturday, May 9, was a calm, clear morning, but cloudy and stormy in the afternoon.

On Lord's Day, May 10, in the morning it was very wet, and when it gave over raining, the wind rose and was high all day.

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\* His birthplace. See Savage's General Dict., vol. iv. p. 250. The torn place in the manuscript contained probably a mention of letters written. — Eds.

May 11. The wind was very high, but the weather fair; in the afternoon it rained. At night I saw the light that was set up upon the South Foreland to give light to passengers.

Tuesday, May 12. The wind was still contrary.

May 13 was a comfortable day, but the wind contrary, and therefore served right to bring in the Virginian flight,\* for then they came in. About noon I saw three porpoises like hogs swimming southward.

On Thursday, May 14, the wind was north-east, and then we prepared to weigh anchor and hoist up sail, and in the mean time the lieutenant of the king's man-of-war, called the "Princess," came to search for a man that had made his escape; but he was not with us. This was about noon. About four of the clock we came over against Dover. There went a great flight, consisting of about fifty sail, as is supposed. But we were interested, what by the king's officer and the sailors' business, so that we were put off from our morning duty of prayer. The wind was very calm, so that we did but drill along very slyly and slowly. The day was very comfortable. I sent a letter to my brother Richard. About eleven o'clock at night we came over in sight of Fairlee, and about six in the morning, May 15, on Friday, we came over against the Beachy, and had a fair easterly wind and a comfortable morning. About one o'clock in the afternoon we came in sight of the Isle of Wight. About four, Captain South's ship, bound for Barbadoes, overtook us, we lowering our sails for him, and he received letters tied in the [blank] cord, and sent a pot of about two pounds of butter to our ship in the same cord, and told us that the man that had made his escape from the "Princess" was caught again in his ship by them. About eight o'clock we came over against the Isle of Wight. We sailed amain, having a fair wind and clear weather.

On Saturday, May 16, the wind was down and would not fill our sails in the morning, and the morning was clear; but about noon what wind there was was south-west, the sun hid with white clouds, and so it was till night. About four o'clock the wind was just against us, so that we did lower sails and make a stand; but between five and six, I being on the quarter deck, looking to see land, saw two birds called Wills † swimming along the sea, and what wind there was was northward, and so served for us again. And then it rose till we went on with it, being a side wind a good pace.

Lord's Day, May 17, we were constrained to drive on by angling in and out. About twelve o'clock I saw a fish rise out of the water with a back and shoulders like a hog, and a thing went from between his shoulders like a thick ox-horn, and they call it a grampus.

On Monday, May 18, we were constrained to drive on our voyage by angle, also, but toward night the west threatened us with storms

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\* This name has been erased and "Straits flight" written over it in a different ink. — Eds.

† "Will, a sea-gull": a south of England name. See Wright's Provincial Dictionary. — Eds.

insomuch that we went aside to Plymouth. But being benighted, we cast anchor in Plymouth Sound about a mile off of Plymouth Bay, just before St. Frances's Island.\*

On Tuesday, May 19, we continued on the sound till toward night, and then we weighed anchor and went to Catwater, because the wind continued westerly, and we judging that a safer harbor to lie in.

On Wednesday, May 20, in the morning the wind being easterly, we weighed anchor again to set forward on our voyage about ten o'clock. About three in the afternoon we came over against Deadman's Head;† about five [?] we came against Waymouth [Falmouth];‡ about eight we came over against the Lizard, and the clouds drizzled small rain. When we went from Plymouth we were forced to tarry on the Sound for some of our company who were gone ashore, and there we fired twice before they came.

On May 21, Thursday morning, it rained, but the wind was right with [us]. Then we came into the sea beyond the Land's End; about three o'clock it ceased raining, but was thick still. At evening the sky threatened us with storms. We sailed about six leagues a watch. In the night we spied a ship which we knew not, and somewhat mistrusted it; but it proved a merchant.

On Friday, May 22, wind north-east, the morning cloudy and dark, yet sometimes the sun did show himself. Yet after[ward] it rained; but before night it was somewhat comfortable weather. I vomited up both my breakfast, dinner, and supper. We saw two ships at night on the lure [leeward] of ours.

Saturday, May 23. Wind north, weather comfortable. We steered south-west by west. About ten o'clock we received a cask of rum from Captain Hunt's ship, who was our consort to New England. At night the wind was down, and there rose a thick cloud [in] the sky toward sunset.

Lord's Day, May 24. The wind in the morning was very low, yet a right north-east wind. Afterward it was higher, but more northerly. I then, being put to exercise, spake from John iii. 3. In the morning watch we sailed two leagues and two miles in a watch; at night, five knots a glass.

May 25, Monday. Wind north-east. We sailed four knots a glass. We had a strange dish at dinner; a leg of mutton boiled and cut in gobbets, and powdered with salt and pepper, then some of the broth put into a dish with some claret wine, and the gobbets put into it; then they broke some eggs and [added some?] vinegar, and boiled them on a chafing dish of coals. After this we must have a second dish, *i. e.*, eggs in claret wine, and butter and pepper put therein; and when they boiled they melted the dish bottom out, and then in haste putting the mess into another dish they broke the eggs and meddled them

\* The island in Plymouth Harbor was St. Nicholas's Island. — Eds.

† Called Dodman's Point on the modern maps. — Eds.

‡ A glance at the course of the vessel on the map shows that Falmouth was the place intended. — Eds.



together, and put sugar in it, and so eat it as a medley with spoons. We saw a great company of porpoises swimming and playing at the head of our ship; and a ship, — where it were [from?], or whither [bound?], we know not. I saw a bird flying over the waters.

Tuesday, May 26. Wind south-westward. We sailed two knots in the forenoon watch a glass, and went one while western by north; one while western by south.

May 27, Wednesday. Wind south-east. Our ship went so awry that one could scarce stand without holding. The seas were very rough, so that the ship's rolling made me very much out of order. We sailed eight leagues, two miles a watch; at night about six leagues. I saw two birds called sheerwater skimming over the water which I saw almost every day.

Thursday, May 28. We had a fair north-east wind, and sailed south-west by south. We were by this time wellnigh two hundred and forty [fifty?] leagues from England.

Friday, May 29. About three o'clock in the morning the men were rallied in all haste, for the wind was turned. In the day it settled just in the west against us, so that we were forced to take a cross course, one while sailing north-west by north; another south-west by south.

Saturday, May 30. Wind west by north. We sailed in the morning scuth-west by south. About twelve of the clock we went on of another tack and sailed north-west by west. The weather comfortable, though the wind contrary. A black cloud lies toward sunset.

May 31, Lord's Day. Winds west. I was very sick, so that I could not perform the duties of the day. At night the wind was north and very high, insomuch that it served our purpose. We sailed amain south-west by west, having put up a new sail.

Monday, June 1. Wind north by west. I was crazy, yet retained [illegible] till supper, my dinner being of fried liver and sweetbreads. The wind flashed the waves over the ship, and those that were in the way were wet as if they were dipt in water.

Tuesday, June 2. Wind north by west. We sailed west; had a comfortable day, a low wind. I saw a fish called a carvil,\* and was indifferently well all day.

Wednesday, June 3. Wind south, weather good. I was well and free from distemper, but toward night the wind rose, and then I was not so perfect in health. I saw several carvails, a fish called boneta,† and a huge flock of porpoises and albatross. At night we had such a fresh gale of wind that we sailed eleven leagues in a watch.

Thursday, June 4. Wind south by west. We sailed northward, at night north-west; had good weather. My health not so good as it was the day before. I saw an old tree swimming on the sea.

Friday, June 5. We had a fair wind and somewhat fresh, being north. We sailed west, somewhat northerly, sometimes six, sometimes

\* The "carvel" is described in Sir Thomas Herbert's Travels, p. 26. -- Eds

† The bonito, or tunny-fish. — Eds.

seven knots a glass. At night we saw a company of porpoises; in the evening there came a whale swimming by, but I being between decks he was out of sight before I came abaft. Our latitude was  $44^{\circ} 23'$ .

Saturday, June 6. Wind north-east; a fresh gale. We sailed west by north, sometimes six, sometimes five [knots?] a glass. Toward night we lowered sail, and tarried about two glasses, *i. e.*, an hour, for Captain Hunt our consort, who was on the stern of us, a league or more.

Lord's Day, June 7. Wind north by east, somewhat fresh. We sailed west. Our latitude is  $43^{\circ}$ . These three last [days?] we sailed wellnigh 150 leagues. About noon we saw a drift of porpoises. I being some better in health than before did exercise and apply the doctrine that before I proved. I saw a little black bird called a pickrill, about as big as a pie, fly along the water, and the seamen said it was a sign of a storm.\*

June 8, Monday. The wind was fair in the morning, but low. At noon it whistled up and down, and at last settled in the north-west, so that we sailed south by west.

Tuesday, June 9. About two o'clock in the morning the wind was north, and so served our purpose. Then I saw an old piece of wood swimming on the water. The pole was elevated; latitude  $42^{\circ} 14'$ . We were on the south of Newfoundland, and sounded with a line; sought for ground, but found none.

Wednesday, June 10. Wind west by north. We sailed south-west by west. The wind still, sea calm, and the day clear. Our master sent his boat for Captain Hunt to his ship to dine with us, and some of our passengers went back with him to his ship, and there overdrank themselves, some of them.

June 11, Thursday. Wind calm, so that we lay and could not go on all the afternoon. About ten o'clock before noon we saw a piece of wood about half a mile off on the water, and firewood beginning to wear we sailed to it, and it was a piece of white fir-wood full of barnacles, which are things like dew-worm skins about two inches long hanging to the wood, and the other end that did not stick to the wood had little shells on them, and that which is in the shell is the meat of them. We had a dish of them. And also there were many black fishes swimming by the wood, and our master with a *figgigt*† caught a dish of them. And after we had taken up the wood, the fishes [lay?] by hundreds, I believe, swimming about the ship all day after. We also saw a shark, which, they said, was nine or ten feet long, but could not catch him. At night we had one on the hook, but he shattered and got off again. After we had been at prayer it pleased the Lord to answer us so far as to give us a right wind, which continued till about eight o'clock on Friday.

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\* This was probably the stormy petrel. — Eds.

† "A sort of harpoon for catching fishes." See Wright's Provincial Dictionary. — Eds.



Friday, June 12. Wind north by east, but low; about eight o'clock quite down, but when we had been at prayer the wind came fresh from the east by south. We sailed north-west by west, the weather very hot. We made but slow motion.

Saturday, June 13. Wind east by south; we sailed west by south. At night we lay by two hours and a half, to tarry for our consort, Captain Hunt, who held not sail with us. In the mean time we sounded with a line 180 fathoms long for ground, but found none.

Lord's Day, June 14. In the morning and at evening a thick fog, so that we could not see far; wherefore we discharged a musket in the morning to give notice to our consort whereabouts we were. The wind low, east by south; we steered west by south. It was exceedingly hot when the fog was broken up. I exercised from Isaiah iii. 11.

Monday, June 15. A thick fog; low wind, north-west. We steered south-west by west in the morning. When the fog broke up we saw our consort's ship. The wind quite down, inasmuch as we were calmed from ten to three o'clock, or thereabouts; in which time we sounded for ground, a line about 250 fathoms, but found none.

Tuesday, June 16. Wind east by south; we sailed west by north. The day was thick with fogs. In the morning we discharged two muskets, that our consort might know by their report whereabouts we were. About eight o'clock we saw him about two or three leagues side-slip us.\* We saw after noon a green branch of a tree swimming on the water. Several shark fishes swam by our ship, but we could catch none of them. At length there came a dead butterfly swimming on the water, whereupon we judged we were nigh land, and therefore we sounded again, 250 fathoms of cords, for land, but found none. We saw many sea-fowls, as gulls, noddies, sheerwaters, &c. In the morning we sailed six leagues a watch; before night not over one.

Wednesday, June 17. Wind somewhat fresh in the morning from south-east. After, it was down so that we could scarce make any progress, and was much whistling, one while south-east, another north-east; yet we steered our course west by north. The day was foggy, so that we could not discern far. Only we saw straw, feathers, rock-wood, &c., that made us judge that we were not far from land.

Thursday, June 18. Morning foggy and misty; the wind south-east, but low. Many whales were heard in the morning about three o'clock, but not seen for the fog. About eight, I being between decks at study against Lord's Day, was called to see one, for they heard one coming toward the ship, and when I got above deck I only heard his voice (which was a rough, hoarse noise, blothering † in the water), but could not see him by reason of the misty fog. The fog being of continuance from Lord's Day, we could not well see any further than we went; but it pleased the Lord so far to answer our prayers as to clear

\* On the larboard side. "Slip-side" is the left-hand side; and the term is peculiar to the county of Leicestershire, of which Mr. Taylor was a native. See Evans's "Leicestershire Words, Phrases, and Proverbs," p. 86.—Eds.

† "To blother" is to make a great noise to little purpose; to chatter idly. See Wright's Provincial Dictionary.—Eds.

the air in the afternoon, and to give us a fresh, gentle gale that made us slide on a great pace. We had a tide now again, which, when we came to it, they called a rippling, because the water by the running of the stream curled and rippled the top of the waves.\*

Friday, June 19, was clear, the wind south by west. We sailed north-west about four leagues a watch. We were much expecting to see land, and had thought we had spied land, but it proved a fog-bank. We also sounded to find ground, but found not. We took up a piece of wood out of the sea for firewood; our latitude  $41^{\circ} 55'$ . After dinner, I reading the fourth chapter of John in Greek, was so sleepy that when I had done I lay down, and dropping into a sleep, and dreaming of my brethren, was so oppressed with sorrow that I had much to do to forbear weeping out; but being overpressed with this passion I awaked, and was almost downright sick.

June 20, Saturday. Clear, the wind south by west. We sailed north-west, some watches nine, some eight leagues. In the afternoon it rained a great pace, and when it gave over, the wind fell and was down. I was very ill this day.

Lord's Day, June 21. Wind north-west, westerly. We sailed south-west by west. I applied the doctrine I delivered Lord's Day before.

June 22. Wind west by north. We sailed one while south-west by west; another, north-west by west. We saw a scour [score?] of mackerel swimming by our ship.

Monday, June 23. Wind west, and low. We sailed north by east and north by west. We saw a pair of sunfish lie flapping on the water. They say that this kind of fish is thus that it cannot sink while the sun shines. At night the wind got more south, so that we came nearer our course; but in the night it served our turn so that we sailed a pace west by north.

June 24, Wednesday. Wind south by east, and fresh. We sailed west by north, our right course. We saw a great fish, called a dubartas, with a head like a notted boar, his back like a great scalded hog's, his color like a pilled oak. His length, I suppose, was four yards. When we saw him first we took it to have been a piece of a tree, and made to him to get it for firewood.†

Thursday, June 25. Wind high in the north; a great rough sea; weather clear. We sailed west north-west five or six knots a glass.

June 26, Friday. Wind fresh in the south, but at night it was north-west. We sailed till night north by west, but then west by south. We sounded, but found no ground. At night I was much troubled in a dream of my brother Joseph, for I dreamed that he was dead.

Saturday, June 27. Wind low, north-west; the day clear. We sounded, but found no ground.

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\* There is one line inserted here in shorthand. — Eds.

† We cannot find this fish. "Notted" is shorn, or cut smooth; and "pilled" is peeled. Both words are in Worcester's Dictionary. — Eds.

Lord's Day, June 28. Wind south by west. We sailed west by north. I exercised from these words, "For the reward of his hands shall be given him." Isaiah iii. 11.

June 29, Monday. It rained, thundered, and lightened in the morning, beginning about three o'clock. It continued raining very sore till twelve, which time we lay by the lee, and the wind whistled up and down. But then the day cleared up, and the wind settled in the south by west. I saw a dubartas much bigger than the former.

Tuesday, June 30. Wind north-east. We sailed west north-west and west by north. We sounded, but met with no ground. We saw our consort to-day again on the head of our ship about a league. In the afternoon about four o'clock we saw a ship which we took for a New English fishing vessel; and when we came to it, the master of it told us that Bridges, in Barbadoes, was burned down about two months and a half [ago?] by a negro's blowing his tobacco-pipe so as it lighted in cotton wool.\* We saw another vessel about six o'clock. We were about one hundred leagues from Boston.

Wednesday, July 1. Day dark and drizzly; wind fresh and north-easterly. We sailed west and northerly. There was a blue pigeon came and settled on the main-topsail yard, which the boatswain shot, but as it fell it hit against the mainsail yard, and so was struck overboard. We saw a gannet, and after, some New England rockweed on the water, which was like yellow mareblobs.† The wind was very high toward night, insomuch that we took down all our sails and lay by, lest we should be drove upon the shore before we were aware, and so suffer damage. About sunset we saw a fish rise, spouting water out and leaping out of the water, as big as a huge horse. Some took it for a young whale, some for a grampus; our master, a thresher.

Thursday, July 2. Weather fair; wind low in the south by east; but afterward it rose and was high again.

Friday, July 3. Weather good; wind south by east. We much looked for land, but spied none. We saw many gannets swimming like geese, and some duck, on the sea. I saw two whales spout water a great way off, but could not discern them. We caught so many mackerel as that we breakfasted, dined, and supped with them, and left for another meal. There arose a thick fog at night, so that we put the helm a-lee and sounded, and found fifty fathom water. We had let a cod-hook down with the line, [and] hauled up a great [fish?] by the line. But at night, perceiving we were nearer shore than we were aware, and not knowing where well we were, nor

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\* Sir Robert H. Schomburgk ("History of Barbados," p. 241) places the burning of Bridgetown in 1666, giving as his authorities manuscript reports of Sir Jonathan Atkins and Sir Richard Dutton. In the diary of John Hull, published by the American Antiquarian Society (Transactions, vol. iii. p. 226), it is entered under date of April 18, 1668. — Eds.

† "Mareblob, the marsh marigold, *Northampton*." See Wright's Provincial Dictionary. — Eds.

see[ing] for the fog, we struck sail back some four leagues, and coursed for two watches' time up and down.

Saturday, July 4 Wind east by south; the day thick with fogs. We saw our consort on the head on us, and spake with him in the afternoon. We sailed faintly on, because the day was so foggy. We sounded, and had some forty-five or forty fathoms water, and we saw many whale spouts. After the day clearing up, we saw land on both hands,—Plymouth on the left, and Salem on the right,—toward sun-setting. About five o'clock we saw the islands in our passage up to Boston. About eight I saw a flying creature like a spark of red fire (about the bigness of an humble-bee) fly by the side of the ship; and presently after, there flew another by. The men said they were fire-flies. About eleven or twelve o'clock I went to lie down to sleep on my cabin (for none went [to] bed because we were nigh our harbor, and waited to go ashore as soon as we cast anchor). But when I was dropped in a slumber there was a sad outcry made, insomuch that I was wakened with it in a fright, thinking the ship had been cast upon some rock; but the cause was this: There was a ketch at anchor, and coming to it, our men did so *hoe* the ship (for that is their word when they call to any in another ship), and there being a horse aboard, he leaped overboard into the sea. [It was] that they hooted at so.

About three o'clock on the Lord's Day, July 5, in the morning, we came ashore, and I lay in Mr. Ti—er's\* house, who was brother to one Mrs. Allen, that went into New England in our ship with us. In the morning, going to deliver a letter to Mr. Mayo, minister of God's word to his people that meet in the new meeting-house, I dined with him, and lodged at Mr. Mather's the two following nights. This gentleman married Mr. Cotton's daughter, lives where Mr. Cotton lived and died, and is the other minister of God's word in the new meeting-house.

July 7. I delivered a letter from Mr. Clarke, and another from his brother Meadwel, to their kinsman Mr. Hull,† who invited me to his house till I had despatched my business and was settled in the college, and also to bring my chest to his warehouse. This gentleman would not be said nay,—therefore I was with him, and received much kindness from him. I continued with him till I settled at Cambridge.

About July 14, I went to Cambridge to speak with the President, who gave me encouragement. At night it thundered and lightened very dreadfully, insomuch that I had little rest for the flashes of lightning. Now about Mr. Stoughton had his miller wound in by the cogs and rounds till they squeezed his extas‡ out.

About July 22 I went to Cambridge again and lay at the President's.

\* The first two letters of this name are at the end of a line in the manuscript; the last three begin the following line. One, or perhaps two letters have disappeared from the middle of the name, which cannot be restored.—Eds.

† Captain John Hull, mint-master, and treasurer of the colony, was also a native of Leicestershire. He was born at Market Harborough.—Eds.

‡ "Extas, the bowels or entrails of an animal body." See Bailey's English Dictionary.—Eds.

At night it thundered, lightened, and rained very much; and as his son Elnathan and I were going to bed about ten or eleven o'clock in the night, as it rained there came a white peckled\* dove pigeon, and flew against the casement of our chamber window, and there sat. I only being in bed when I heard it was a pigeon, got up and so we opened the casement upon the dove so far as that we took him in, and when he was in, we would have caught him, and he ran from us and cooed and bristled at us. In the morning he was let out again. The President, when he heard it, said he would not (of any good) he should be hurt, for one should not hear of the like; it was ominous surely.

July 23. I was admitted into the college.†

Being settled in the college, pupil under Mr. Thomas Graves, Senior Fellow, in a great and yet civil class, I continued there three years and a quarter, all which time I was College Butler. During which time these occurrences are most observable: viz. —

1st. Mr. Graves, not having his name for nought, lost the love of the undergraduates by his too much austerity, whereupon they used to strike a nail above the hall door-catch while we were reciting to him, and so nail him in the hall. At which disorder I was troubled, whereupon being desired by him to go into the buttery privily and watch who did it, one morning I did so; but being spied by the scholars I was fain to haste out and make haste to Boston before I spake to Mr. Graves, the better to cloak over the business that so the scholars might conclude it was accidental and not *ex proposito* (for I was fearful of incensing them against me), for which, notwithstanding the hazard I was in of setting them against me and the love I expressed to Mr. Graves in putting myself for his sake into such hazard, I was checked by him when I came up again.

2d. When he went about to read to us natural physics, he would read to us out of Mageirus, which was reputed none of the best, and had not been read by the other classes in the college; and so we did refuse to read it, and I also (though since I have read it I am sorry I opposed it), insomuch that he, seeing he could prevail with me to read it, though they should continue opposite thereto, gave me (in his passion) the unworthiest language that ever I received of any man to my knowledge. But before we had read it through he left us to Mr. Joseph Browne, who upon his going away, being chosen Fellow, slighted it as much as we. Mr. Browne now being our Tutor carried it so respectfully to us that he had our very hearts, and we scarce ever did any thing without his advice.

3d. In the spring of my second year's residence in the college (being 1670), I going to reckon with Goodman Steadman for my winter's wood, his wife Elizabeth lying at that time under trouble of spirit, though she had not revealed it, complained with grief of my strangeness, saying that they were not good enough for my company,

\* The old form for speckled. — Eds.

† There is now a blank page in the manuscript. — Eds.

and withal said, with tears in her eyes, that she was persuaded that if I knew her condition, how it was with her, I would come often to their house. Which, when I perceived that she was a woman of a troubled spirit, I went oftener and was, though an unworthy creature, an instrument of some use unto her for her comfort and support; who afterward proved a great and good nurse to me whensoever I was in any kind of affliction.

So long also as I remained in the college the Lord gave me the affections of all both in the college and in the town whose love was worth having. Yet some there were that added afflictions to me by their whispering, back-biting tongues, which made me much desirous to go from Cambridge, judging it to be some who spoke me fair to my face, but grudge me my charitable and well-grounded esteem of Goodwife Steadman, the object of their envy. When on this account I purposed to lay down my place at Commencement, the President, by his incessant request and desires, prevailed with me to tarry in it as yet. But the quarter following I had more afflictions than I had all the three years before. But being invited by Mr. Flint over to Braintree to be at their house and make use of his study there, I found some inclination thereto, and went Nov. 13, 1671, to Braintree; but not finding a second invitation upon the same ground, I returned and settled in the college, and was instituted, the 16th day of November, scholar of the house.

But the 17th being the quarter day, Thomas Dewy, a messenger sent from Westfield on Connecticut River, to the Bay for to get a minister for that people, being by eight or nine elders, met at the lecture in Boston the day before, directed to myself, came to me with a letter from Mr. Increase Mather, pastor of the Second Church at Boston, whom for an answer I referred to the reverend President and Fellows. Reserving liberty to advise with friends; and finding Mr. Danforth for it, Mr. Oakes indifferent, rather advising to it, the President altogether against it at this time, and the Fellows advising rather to it than any thing else, giving this a reason why their advice was not positive, — because they were to respect the college good, — hereupon I was both encouraged and discouraged. But Mr. Danforth, the magistrate, driving on hard, advised to take other advice; wherefore delaying to give an answer till 24th day, I did on the 18th advise with Mr. Increase Mather and Mr. Thacher, whose advice was positive for it. But the 20th day Thomas Dewy came again and lay hard at me to go with him that week; but I could not, neither did I promise him to go, yet he saw by my preparation sufficient to raise his expectations and to make him conclude that I would go. But on Thursday 23d, at night, it fell a great snow, yet on the 26th, though it snowed apace, he came for me and would have gone with me would I have gone, though on the 27th, Mr. Belcher, Mr. Timothy Hide, Samuel Green, &c., were to go. Wherefore tarrying till then, I, not knowing how to cast down Goodman Dewy's expectations after I had raised them, set forward, not without much apprehension of a tedious and hazardous journey, the snow being about mid-leg deep, the way unbeaten, or the track



filled up again, and over rocks and mountains, and the journey being about a hundred miles. And Mr. Cooke of Cambridge told us it was the desperate journey that ever Connecticut men undertook. On the night before, I went to take my leave of our honored President, whose mind was changed, and his love was so much expressed that I could scarce leave him, and well it might be so, for he told me in plain words that he *knew not how to part with me*. But as my proceedings were by prayer and counsel, so my journey was carried on by mercy and good success. The first night we lodged at Marlbury where our company was increased one more. From thence we went out the day following about half an hour before sunrising for Quaubaug, *i. e.*, Waterfield;\* but about ten o'clock we lost our way in the snow and woods, which hindered us some three or four miles; but finding it again by the marked trees on we went, but our talk was of lying in the woods all night, for we were then about thirty miles off from our lodging, having neither house nor wigwam in our way. But about eight at night we came in, through mercy, in health to our lodging, from which on the next day we set out for Springfield, which we arrived at also in health, and on the next day we ventured to lead our horses, in great danger, over Connecticut River, though altogether against my will, upon the ice, which was about two days in freezing; but mercy going along with, though the ice cracked every step, yet we came over safely and well to the wonder almost of all that knew it. This being the 2d [1st?] of December, we came to Westfield, the place of our desire, in health, where we first called at Captain Cook's, who entertained us with great joy and gladness, giving me many thanks for coming and that at such a season. But though we had had both fair and warm weather all the way, yet before I had been half an hour within his house there came such gusts of wind against his house as I scarce ever heard. Then after a while we went to Mr. Whiting's, and then I know not that ever I heard such gusts and shuffs of wind as blew then. There the men of the town came to welcome me, and after supper I went to Goodman Ashly's, where I was to be till Mr. Whiting had got his house ready that I might be with him. On Lord's day after, I preached to them from Matthew iii. 2, my first sermon, being Dec. 3, 1671. On Thursday I removed to Mr. Whiting's, where I settled in quarters.

On Friday, at night, Jan. 12, about nine or ten o'clock, Thomas Dewey, being gone from home to Northampton, had his house and almost all his goods burned down; and one of his children, *i. e.*, a little girl, being almost undressed to go to bed, and affrighted, ran into the parlor or bedroom, where had not the youth run in to have got something out, and as he went out hit her with his foot, or stumbled at her, she had in all likelihood been burned. The fire came thus: one of the boys went up into the chamber, with a stick of candlewood burning, for some corns to play at checkers, and the stick dropped a drop in some

\* Quaubaug was the Indian name of Brookfield, which was not incorporated until Oct. 15, 1673.—Eds.

tow and so fired. John Osburn, their next neighbor, a man likely to have stood them in stead at that time, was providentially hindered from taking any notice thereof by the falling of his child in the fire just at the same season. This Thomas Dewy was the messenger that I came up with.\*

Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR exhibited three manuscript maps by Dr. Jeremy Belknap, preserved in the Library of Harvard College, relating to the treaty with the Indians of the Northwest Territory in 1795. One of these maps shows the boundary lines between the United States and the Indians; the second, the territory ceded by the treaty, and, by a dotted line, the route of General Wayne's army; the third, the line of forts north of the Ohio River. On the last is this memorandum, "Cincinnati is the name of the village which is built round Fort Washington."

Mr. WINSOR mentioned also, as an interesting fact, that the copy of Purchas's "Pilgrimes" in the College Library once belonged to Judge Sewall, and contained some manuscript notes in Dr. Belknap's hand.

Mr. G. DEXTER communicated a letter from Professor Erasmus Rask to the Hon. Henry Wheaton, saying:—

I have found lately among some papers of the late Henry Wheaton, for many years the diplomatic representative of this country at the courts of Copenhagen and Berlin, an interesting letter written to him in 1831 by Erasmus Rask on the subject of the discovery of America by the Northmen. Mr. Rask is recognized as one of the great philological scholars of his time, and he was particularly well acquainted with the Icelandic language and literature, on which he wrote several treatises. Mr. Wheaton, at the date of this letter, had just published in London his history of the Northmen. He had made due mention in this of their visits to America, and as it was a matter in which he took great interest, he was now perhaps seeking more information from his friend.

I do not forget that this letter of Mr. Rask was written before the publication of Professor Rafn's great work, the "*Antiquitates Americanæ*," which appeared in 1837. Nor am I unaware that Mr. Wheaton himself, in the French trans-

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\* Westfield was incorporated as a town in 1669, but the church was not gathered until 27 August, 1679, at which time a council assembled, and Mr. Taylor was ordained pastor, nearly eight years after he began his ministrations. See "*The Westfield Jubilee*," pp. 154, 155. Mr. Taylor's tomb is in the old town burying-ground, and a marble memorial slab has been placed in the First Congregational Church.—Eds.



lation of his history, published in 1844, which was substantially a revised edition of the original work, adopted Mr. Rafn's views.\*

But the "*Antiquitates Americanæ*" was as it were a new departure in these Northern studies. For the first time the sagas were given to the world, carefully edited and translated into a language read by the learned of all countries. The completeness and splendor of the manner of publication of the book, the ability of the editors, and, above all, their earnest enthusiasm, seemed to carry all before them for a time. Nearly every one was disposed to accept the narratives of the sagas, and to agree with the plausibly argued conclusions of the Danish editors. There was perhaps also a feeling of patriotic pride among the Northern scholars, that their ancestors had preceded Columbus in the discovery of the new world. Certainly no attempt was made in Denmark to refute Rafn's arguments, and the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries at once appointed a committee on the ante-Columbian discovery of America, and established an American section of the Museum, in which supposed traces of the Northmen's visits were to be preserved.

To-day, however, while the visits of these Northmen to some parts of the American continent are perhaps generally admitted by careful historians, scholars have grown very cautious in accepting the details of the narratives, and reluctant to receive Professor Rafn's identification of the places visited by Leif and Thorvald.

Dighton Rock and the old mill at Newport, on which so much argument was built, have been abandoned. There exist no known works of the Northmen in the United States. Mr. Schoolcraft and Dr. Palfrey have settled that point. The lapse of forty years since the appearance of Mr. Rafn's labors has made it evident also that another of his conclusions may be doubted. He and his coadjutor, Professor Finn Magnussen, have endeavored in learned arguments to show that the precise latitude of "*Leifsbúdir*" can be deduced from the statement in the saga of the length of the winter's day. The testimony of the exact scholar whose letter I have brought

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\* Mr. Paul Guillet, the translator of Mr. Wheaton's history, calls his book on the titlepage, "*édition revue et augmentée par l'auteur, avec cartes, inscriptions, et alphabet runiques.*" And in his preface he states that the book is "*moins une traduction qu'une nouvelle édition, enrichi des notes et des recherches que l'auteur réservait pour une seconde publication.*" An appendix of new matter, of about one hundred pages, is taken from Rafn's "*Antiquitates Americanæ.*" The summary of Finn Magnussen's argument about the length of the winter day is given on p. 33 n.

here to-day may be of value on that point. And I may recall the fact that Mr. Gudbrand Vigfussen, the editor of Cleasby's Icelandic Dictionary, the latest authority, states that the editor of the "*Antiquitates Americanæ*" is mistaken in this matter.

Mr. Rask's letter, admirably expressed when we remember that he writes in a tongue not his native one, is as follows:—

KØBENHAVN, d<sup>r</sup>. 29 Dec., 1831.

The fact of the Icelanders and Greenlanders visiting North America, which they called *Wineland the Good* (in comparison with Iceland and Greenland), is beyond any doubt. It is mentioned *obiter*:—

1. In the *Landnámabok*, twice (pp. 133, 219, 220). This is one of the best-authenticated sagas existing, published from parchment codices.

2. In the new edition of Olaf Tryggvason's saga, published also from parchment (manuscript), vol. ii. p. 246, equally *obiter*, and just on that behalf the surer. A specimen of the very respectable chief codex is to be seen in the Olaf the Saint's saga, which is printed from the same.

3. *Eyrbyggja-saga*, p. 252, is also spoken of *Vinland hit góða*, briefly indeed, but very much corroborating the other accounts. There is in this place related a battle between the Northmen and the Eskimoes (*Skrælingjar*), in which a person fell whose history is related in the saga, the author speaking no wise else in that place of Vinland. This saga is also one of the most creditable, though but indifferently published; it exists, at least partly, on parchment.

4. Snorre Sturleson in his celebrated *Heimskringla*, vol. i. p. 303, mentions *obiter* the discovery of *Vinland hit góða*, made by Leif Erikson from Greenland. This chapter contains the genuine words of Snorre himself, and exists on parchment, as well as in the other transcripts, as may be seen, *i. e.*, in the various readings. The detailed relation, inserted from other sources, begins on the next page (304), as is fairly stated in the note relating to the beginning of chapter 105.

5. Are-fróde in his *Islandíngabók* or *schedæ*, chap. vi. (p. 9 in the new octavo edition of *Islandíngasögur*, vol. i.), mentions also *Vinland*, *obiter*, as a country well known. When the Icelanders discovered Greenland, they found both on the eastern and western coast traces (dwellings) of "men of the same race," he says, "as inhabits *Vinland*, and is called *Skrælingjar* by the (Scandinavian, northern) Greenlanders."

The whole discovery, or several expeditions to Vinland, is described:—

1. In the celebrated *Flateybook*, where it is inserted in the saga of Olaf Tryggvason. From a bad transcript of this it was published first by Peringsköld in his edition of *Heimskringla*, and afterward by the Danish editors.

2. In Erik the Red's saga the discovery is spoken of, chap. v. (in my manuscript copy); and another expedition from Greenland to Vinland is detailed, chap. vii. *et seq.* In this expedition was discovered some interjacent countries: 1. *Helluland*, twenty-four hours' journey from Greenland; then, two days' journey farther, with north wind, *Markland*,\* and an island *Bjarney*, &c.; twenty-four hours farther, *Straumsey* and *Straumsfjörðr*, &c. At last the battle with the natives, in which the Icelander fell who is spoken of in *Eyrbyggja-saga*, is described in the ninth and last chapter. This saga appears to be somewhat fabulous, viz., written long time after the event, and taken from tradition.

3. Thorfinn Karlsefnes-saga is the story of the chief hero who went to Wineland the Good. It exists on one or two very old and most excellent parchment codices. The two last mentioned are not published.

It is remarkable that besides of *Vínland* there is an old tradition of another extensive country in the west, called *Hvíttra-manna-land* (White men's land), or Ireland the Great (*vaste*), *Irlánd hit mikla*. In the first place of *Landnámabók* quoted above, it is spoken of as situated right west of Ireland, and not far from Vinland the Good.† The people were civilized and Christians (it seems) before the Icelanders. Of course, I mean Irishmen or Welshmen, rather the first mentioned, as they also had begun to people the southern parts of Iceland before the arrival of the Northmen (according to *Are-frode*, *Landnámabók*, &c.). This country is also mentioned in the last chapter of *Eyrbyggja*, in *Eriksrauda-saga*, &c.

I think it tolerably clear in general that it was the country of Labrador, with the islands adjacent, and perhaps Nova Scotia, that were visited by the Northmen. *Straumsfjörðr*, I fancy, was the Bay of St. Lawrence, and that *Hvíttra-manna-land*, or *Irlánd hit mikla*, was the northern parts, or the whole then known of the United States, where the Irish or Welsh colonies have been afterward destroyed by the natives, or lost among them, just like the Icelandic colonies in Greenland.

But to ascertain exactly the places meant by the names of *Helluland*, *Markland*, *Straumsey*, and *Vinland*, is next to impossibility until the text of *Eriksrauda-saga* and *Thorfinn Karlsefnes-saga* shall be published critically in the work of Professors Magnúsen and Rafn, with Latin translations. Then, I fancy, a person who knows the natural appearance of the coast of Labrador, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, &c., will be able to ascertain the places tolerably correctly from the descrip-

\* Because it was covered "with wood" (*ísl.* *mörn*, *silva*, non danish *Mark*, *campus*). — Marginal note of Mr. Rask.

† Some captivated children from Vinland state it situated right against their native country (on the southern banks of the St. Lawrence?), and that the inhabitants wore white dresses; but I would rather derive the name from the complexion of the Europeans, so that *Hvíttra-manna-land* would be the country occupied by Europeans; and, supposed these were Irishmen, it would be perfectly synonymous with *Irlánd hit mikla*. — Marginal note of Mr. Rask.

tions given of each of them in the sagas, — never from the length of the shortest day, it being liable to so different interpretations. Our ancestors did not divide the day into twelve hours, but into four *eykts*, each of three hours. *Hádegí* (high day) was twelve o'clock; *nón* (or in ancient times, *undorn*) was three o'clock (*hora nona*); *miðr-aptan*, six o'clock; *náttmál*, nine o'clock; *miðnatt*, twelve o'clock (or midnight); *óttá* (whence *óttasaungr*), three in the morning; *miðr morgun*, six o'clock; *dagmál*, nine o'clock. But now the question is whether midday, for instance, was in the very beginning of the *eykt* called *hádegí*, or in the middle, or even end of it. The two first-mentioned modes of reckoning have prevailed in Iceland till of late, but who shall tell us which of the three possible modes has been intended by the author in question? Besides, this author is not published critically from the *membrana*, — does not say how many *eyktir* the shortest day had, but at what time the sun did set and rise. However, I think that not easily any better explanation of the passage alluded to shall be found than that of Torfaeus, given at the end of his *Vinlandia*, — at least not before the texts of these relations shall be published. As my time does not permit me to enter into any examination of the manuscripts, being partly preserved in the Royal Library, I shall send you the work of Torfaeus, which contains much curious information about those regions.

From this you will see that even *Adamus Bremensis* mentions Vinland as the utmost inhabitable country in the world, beyond Iceland and Greenland, only he seems to place it north of Greenland, in which he may have misunderstood King Svend Estridsen, from whom he derived his information, or even this [monarch?] may have been mistaken himself about that distant country, not occupied by any of the crowned heads of Europe.

I wish you a very happy New Year, sir, and have the honor to remain, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

ERASMUS RASK.

Mr. H. C. LODGE, for the Committee on the Memorial to the General Court for the preservation of ancient burial-grounds, made a report, and presented a copy of the Act passed by that body in answer to the Society's petition.

#### COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

In the Year One Thousand Eight Hundred and Eighty.

#### An Act for the Preservation of Ancient Burial-Grounds.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows: —*

It shall not be lawful for any city or town in this Commonwealth to alienate, convey, or appropriate to any other use than that of a burial-ground, any tract of land which has been for more than one hundred years used as a place of burial of the dead: nor shall any portion of

such burial-ground be taken for any public use, without special authority from the legislature: *provided* that this act shall not apply in any case where the town has already given its consent to such use, or where special authority therefor has been granted by the legislature.\*

Mr. C. C. SMITH, Chairman of the Committee on memoirs of deceased members, reported that he had received a Memoir of Governor John A. Andrew from Mr. Peleg W. Chandler, and one of Mr. John Glen King from Mr. William P. Upham of Salem.†

The President called the attention of the Society to the centennial anniversary of the birth of Dr. Channing, saying:—

We cannot be unmindful, Gentlemen, as an Historical Society, that a commemoration is to be observed to-morrow at Newport, R. I., of the centennial anniversary of the birth of William Ellery Channing. Though not a native of Massachusetts, he was, for the largest part of his life, identified with our own State and city, and his memory is revered by us all as one of whom it is justly said that "his life, writings, and influence were consecrated to the service of humanity in the largest sense."

There are some of us—not a few, perhaps—who recall the delight with which we read some of his great essays at the moment of their publication, or listened occasionally to his impressive discourses from his own lips. I cannot forget that in 1833 I was privileged to take the great statesman, Henry Clay, to the old Federal-street church to hear Channing deliver one of his grand sermons on Death and Immortality. No two men in our country at that day had more marked elements for contrast than Channing and Clay. But they had been drawn toward each other by a common celebrity, and Channing, as it will be remembered, addressed at least one of his elaborate public letters, on subjects of national interest, to the great statesman of the West. In one respect, certainly, they were alike. Both of them were gifted with voices of wonderful quality, which gave a peculiar charm to whatever they uttered. Clay's voice had at times the clash of a trumpet, while Channing's had the music and melody of a harp. But both were of that sympathetic, vibratory tone which touched and thrilled their hearers. I can recall none like either of them, and I shall hardly hear their like again. They were incomparable for their respective spheres.

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\* Approved March 20, 1880, to take effect in thirty days.—Eps.

† See below, pages 37 and 41.—Eps.

I have found among my letters one from Dr. Channing, addressed to me while I was in Congress, and written less than a year before his death, which I have thought might fitly find a place in our Proceedings. Every thing from his pen is interesting, but this letter is peculiarly characteristic, both of the man and of the time at which it was written. It will speak for itself, without any comments of mine, and will show how little his great mind could have anticipated the condition of our country when the one hundredth anniversary of his birth should have arrived:—

Boston, Dec. 30, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your well-known kindness encourages me to make a request. I will thank you to send me the public documents which relate to slavery and the slave-trade. In the newspapers I get them in fragments, and they are easily lost.

I wait solicitously for the action of Congress on the case of the *Creole*. England, I doubt not, will hold the high ground she has taken. An Englishman lately said to me, "I would sooner give up Canada than give up a slave," and he spoke, I trust, the sentiment of the nation. How painful and humbling that our country, boasting of its attachment to freedom, should come in conflict with another, because the latter declares that whoever touches her soil is free. A friend in Paris, speaking of our pecuniary deficiencies and sins, writes me: "We (Americans) are ashamed of our country and exposed to daily mortifications on account of the disrepute into which every thing American has fallen throughout all classes of Europeans." I fear that we are to plunge into deeper infamy, are to array ourselves against the principles of justice and humanity which other nations have adopted,—are to throw ourselves in the way of the advancing civilization and Christianity of our age. The free States have been so accustomed to succumb to the arrogance of the South on the subject of slavery that I cannot but fear. The "New York Courier" announces that the question of annexing Texas may be brought forward during the session, and though this would be perhaps a more fatal measure than dissolution of the Union, it is possible that the North may submit to it. Can no compromise or arrangement be made by which the subject of slavery may be taken out of Congress, or detached from national politics? The free States, I think, should give every pledge that they will not exert the power of the general or state governments for the purpose of abolishing or acting on slavery in the slave States, any more than in foreign countries; and, on the other hand, they should insist on being released from *all* obligation to give support to slavery. Let them leave the subject wholly to the action of the slave States, interfering neither to uphold or destroy. I beg you to excuse the length of this letter. The subject is so interesting, that when I touch it, I cannot easily leave it.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM E. CHANNING.

ROBERT C. WINTHROP, Esq., M. C., Washington, D. C.



The business of the Annual Meeting was then taken up. The annual report of the Council was presented by the Chairman of the Executive Committee, Mr. Winslow Warren; that of the Librarian, by Dr. Samuel A. Green; that of the Cabinet-keeper, by Mr. William S. Appleton; and that of the Treasurer, by Mr. Charles C. Smith.

These reports were severally accepted, and here follow:—

*Report of the Council.*

The recurrence of our Annual Meeting finds this Society with its ranks nearly full, its funds, as will appear from the Treasurer's report, in excellent condition, and its capacity for work and usefulness in no way diminished. The year has not been an eventful one in our history, though our meetings have been well attended and full of interest, and the contributions of our members to historical knowledge continuous and valuable. At the October meeting the Society voted to change the hours for the meeting of the Council and the Society, and adopted the early afternoon hours as more convenient to a majority of its members. Though regarded somewhat as an experiment, the change appears to have been promotive of the interests of the Society, and has not only increased the attendance, but added the presence of many gentlemen whose occupations forbade their giving the morning hours to the more pleasing duties of historical research.

The influence of the Society has been given to the preservation of our ancient burial-grounds by its petition to the Legislature for that purpose; and it is a satisfaction to know that the Act introduced by our Committee, Judge Hoar and Mr. H. C. Lodge, has secured these memorials of former generations from the threatened desecration.

The Memorial to Congress, in relation to the Yorktown Monument, has also been forwarded, and will doubtless aid the movement to mark appropriately the spot so noted in our Revolutionary history.

During the year we have been called upon to mourn the loss of but three of our Resident Members, — Mr. Erastus B. Bigelow, whose thoughtful and inventive mind contributed so much to the social industries of the country and to the solution of important financial and economical questions; the Hon. Richard Frothingham, for many years our valued Treasurer, — a man remarkable for his knowledge of the early history of our country, and more especially of all concerning our own immediate vicinity, intensely in earnest in whatever

he undertook, and whether addressing the general public through his books, or this Society in his frequent and valuable papers, never failing to command attentive interest, and to convince or captivate by his modest enthusiasm and thorough acquaintance with the subject in hand; and the Rev. George Punchard, whose decease has only to-day been announced to the Society.

We have elected as Resident Members of the Society, — Messrs. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., Henry W. Haynes, and Thomas W. Higginson; and the Council have nominated to you, to fill one of the existing vacancies, the Rev. E. G. Porter of Lexington.

Of our Honorary Members, we have lost the distinguished statesman and general, John A. Dix of New York, and the eminent French writer and diplomatist, Count Adolphe De Circourt. Of our Corresponding Members have died, Benjamin R. Winthrop, Esq., of New York, J. Antoine Moerenhout of California, the Rev. William I. Budington of Brooklyn, New York, James Lenox, Esq., of New York, and the Hon. Samuel G. Arnold of Providence, R.I. News has been received also of the death of Mr. G. B. Faribault of Quebec, which occurred in 1866.

We have chosen as Corresponding Members during the year, — Professor Franklin B. Dexter of Yale College, General John M. Brown of Portland, Me., President Andrew D. White of Cornell University, and Professor George W. Ranck of Lexington, Kentucky; and as an Honorary Member Frederic De Peyster, Esq., President of the New York Historical Society.

Since our last Annual Meeting, the Committee upon the Sewall Papers have published their second very interesting volume, to be followed ere long by a third; the Committee upon the publication of the Early Proceedings have published also a new volume, and have still another nearly ready for distribution; and a new volume of the annual Proceedings of the Society will be published in the early summer. As part of this last volume, will be found memoirs of deceased members that have been finished during the year.

Members of our Society have been engaged upon valuable historical work, and the Society may well congratulate itself that its prestige is in no peril while so many of its number are thus ardently engaged in this field of labor.

Mr. Francis Parkman has published a new edition of his "Discovery of the Great West," giving later and more complete information respecting the connection of La Salle with



that interesting period in our early history. Mr. C. F. Adams, Jr., has published his "Chapter of Railroad Accidents," increasing the public indebtedness to him for many thoughtful criticisms and suggestions upon this important subject. Mr. Justin Winsor has issued a very useful Handbook of the Revolution. Mr. William S. Appleton, an extended genealogy of the Sumner Family, and, with Mr. William H. Whitmore, a Report of the Record Commissioners. Dr. S. A. Green, his Groton Orations, containing a fund of local antiquarian research. Mr. J. L. Sibley is understood to have nearly completed his second volume of Harvard Graduates; and, not less in importance, a very large number of our members are now engaged upon the exhaustive Memorial History of Boston. Messrs. H. C. Lodge, Henry W. Haynes, and Rev. J. F. Clarke have also been delivering instructive courses of lectures at the Lowell Institute in this city.

Our Cabinet-keeper, Mr. William S. Appleton, after faithful service to the Society for the past six years, has felt called upon to decline a further nomination to that office, and the Committee will present to you to-day the name of Dr. Fitch Edward Oliver as a suitable person to fill the vacancy.

In this connection it may be well to renew the suggestions in the last annual report that a more convenient and attractive arrangement be made of our collection of historical relics and pictures, and the Treasurer be authorized to appropriate a proper sum from the funds of the Society for that purpose. It is believed that the present crowded cases of interesting relics in our large front room can be replaced by larger ones so arranged as to display their contents with better effect, without occupying greatly more space, and that many articles but rarely seen in the upper room can be disposed to advantage upon the walls of the rooms connecting with the Library, greatly to the convenience of members and visitors. While the way is not yet open to us to more commodious quarters, a more judicious arrangement can be made of the many rare and interesting articles we hold, and the liberality of public-spirited citizens must be hoped for at some not distant day to furnish us with more convenient, and, we may add, less lofty quarters.

WINSLOW WARREN,

*Chairman of the Executive Committee*

Boston, April 6, 1880.

*Report of the Librarian.*

The Librarian has the honor to submit his Annual Report. During the year there have been added to the Library: —

Books . . . . .	569
Pamphlets . . . . .	2,932
Unbound volumes of newspapers . . . . .	10
Maps . . . . .	5
Broadsides . . . . .	14
Volumes of manuscripts . . . . .	6
Manuscripts . . . . .	24
<hr/>	
Making in all . . . . .	3,560

Of the books added, 450 have been given, 98 have been bought, and 21 procured by exchange. Of the pamphlets added, 2,500 have been given, 279 have been received by purchase, and 153 by exchange.

There are now in the Library, it is estimated, about 26,569 volumes; including files of bound newspapers, the bound manuscripts, and the Dowse collection. The number of pamphlets is about 53,727. Mr. Amos A. Lawrence has added 100 volumes, 21 pamphlets, and 63 newspapers, all relating to the Great Rebellion. There have been bought with the income of the Savage Fund 40 volumes, 83 pamphlets, and 4 newspapers.

During the year, 241 books and 11 pamphlets have been taken out, and all have been returned. It should be borne in mind, however, that the Library is rather one of reference than of circulation, otherwise the statement of the fact might give a wrong impression of its use.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL A. GREEN, *Librarian.*

Boston, April 6, 1880.

*Report of the Cabinet-keeper.*

In making his last Annual Report, the Cabinet-keeper is glad to be able to say that the articles forming the Cabinet of the Society are all in good condition, but certainly in want of an arrangement by which they can be more completely seen, and to better advantage. At the same time, it is not easy to say just what should be done; but the retiring keeper hopes that his successor, beginning with a "new broom," may

devise some method of reaching the desired end. During the past year the Cabinet has received two noteworthy additions, viz., the portrait of the late George Stillman Hillard, presented by the Trustees of the Sanders Fund, and the very interesting view of the upper part of State Street, painted about 1800, and purchased by a friendly subscription.

The recent successful founding of a new society, the Boston Antiquarian Club, suggests the possible formation of a Museum of Old Boston by the co-operation of various bodies. There should be but one collection illustrating the history and antiquities of our city, for which all corporations and persons interested should work in hearty sympathy and union. In event of the removal of the Public Library, I feel that the whole or a part of the present building should be the place of this museum, the establishment of which should be ever kept in mind, even if a realization of future years.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM S. APPLETON, *Cabinet-keeper.*

Boston, April 6, 1880.

*Report of the Treasurer.*

IN compliance with the provisions of the By-laws, Chapter VII., Article 1, the Treasurer respectfully submits a Report of his doings for the year ending March 31, 1880, with a statement of the condition of the property in his charge.

During the year the mortgage debt of the Society has been reduced by a further payment of \$3,000, leaving the present amount of the debt \$43,000. Of the \$3,000 thus paid, \$2,000 had been set aside in compliance with a vote passed at the Annual Meeting in April, 1877; \$150 had been paid to the Treasurer for a commutation of the annual assessments, in accordance with the provisions of Chapter I., Article 5, of the By-laws; and \$850 were charged against the unappropriated income of the year. Nothing has been charged against the income of the Appleton Fund, and consequently the balance against that account has been reduced to \$1,462.96. Unless otherwise directed by the Society, the Treasurer will charge nothing against the income of the Appleton Fund until the whole of this balance has been offset by the annual income credited to the account. This will require nearly the whole of the income for the next two years. In the mean time the cost of printing our Collections must be paid from the unrestricted income of the Society. Agreeably to a vote

of the Society passed June 14, 1877, the sum of \$482.76 has been added to the accumulated income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund, making the total amount of that fund and the accumulated interest at the present time \$8,528.75. The limit set to its accumulation by this vote will be reached in about three years, after which time the income will be available for the purposes of the Society.

The funds held by the Treasurer are the following:—

I. THE APPLETON FUND, which was created Nov. 18, 1854, by the gift to the Society, from the executors of the will of the late Samuel Appleton, of stocks of the appraised value of ten thousand dollars. By a sale of these securities at a subsequent period, the amount to the credit of the fund was raised to \$12,203, at which sum it now stands, chargeable on the real estate of the Society. The interest, computed at the rate of six per cent per annum, is applicable to "the procuring, preserving, preparation, and publication of historical papers."

II. THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL TRUST-FUND, the nucleus of which was a gift of two thousand dollars from the late Hon. David Sears, presented Oct. 15, 1855, and accepted by the Society Nov. 8, 1855. This sum was increased Dec. 26, 1866, by a further gift of five hundred dollars from Mr. Sears and five hundred dollars from Mr. Nathaniel Thayer. The manner in which the income must be appropriated, and the purposes for which it can be used, are set forth in Mr. Sears's declaration of trust in the printed Proceedings for November, 1855. Both the principal and the accumulated income of this fund are chargeable on the real estate of the Society.

III. THE DOWSE FUND, amounting to \$10,000, which was presented to the Society April 9, 1857, by the executors of the late Thomas Dowse, and which, like the two preceding funds, is a charge on the real estate of the Society. The income is available for the "safe keeping" of the Dowse Library.

IV. THE PEABODY FUND, which was presented to the Society by the late George Peabody, in a letter, dated Jan. 1, 1867, and stands on the Treasurer's books at \$22,123. It is invested partly in the seven per cent bonds of the Boston and Albany Railroad Co., and partly in a deposit in the Suffolk Savings Bank. The income is available for the publication and illustration of the Society's Proceedings and Memoirs, and for the preservation of the Society's Historical Portraits.

V. THE SAVAGE FUND, which was a bequest from the late Hon. James Savage, and was received in June, 1873. It stands on the books at \$5,023.25, and the income is to be

expended for the increase of the Society's Library. As the Library Committee were obliged to anticipate a considerable part of the income for the year in order to pay for books purchased at the Brinley sale, the means at their disposal have been much restricted.

VI. THE GENERAL FUND, which stands on the books at \$3,150, and represents a legacy of two thousand dollars from the late Henry Harris, received in July, 1867, a legacy of one thousand dollars from the late George Bemis, received in March, 1879, and a commutation fee of one hundred and fifty dollars, received in May, 1879. For these sums the Treasurer still holds a bond of the Quincy and Palmyra Railroad Co., for one thousand dollars, and a bond of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad Co., also for one thousand dollars; and the sum of eleven hundred and fifty dollars has been paid toward the reduction of the mortgage debt of the Society.

The following abstracts and the trial balance show the present condition of the several accounts:—

## CASH ACCOUNT.

## DEBITS.

1879.		
March 31.	To balance on hand . . . . .	\$786.01
1880.		
March 31.	To receipts as follows:—	
	General Account . . . . .	11,269.99
	General Fund . . . . .	150.00
	Income of Peabody Fund . . . . .	1,470.00
	Income of Savage Fund . . . . .	340.00
		<u>\$14,016.00</u>
March 31.	To balance brought down . . . . .	\$1,016.55

## CREDITS.

1880.		
March 31.	By payments as follows:—	
	Reduction of mortgage debt . . . . .	\$3,000.00
	Income of Peabody Fund . . . . .	3,007.57
	Income of Savage Fund . . . . .	188.12
	General Account . . . . .	6,803.76
	By balance on hand . . . . .	1,016.55
		<u>\$14,016.00</u>

## GENERAL ACCOUNT.

## DEBITS.

1880.		
March 31.	To sundry payments:—	
	J. A. Henshaw, salary . . . . .	\$1,200.00
	J. H. Tuttle, salary . . . . .	650.00
	Interest on mortgage . . . . .	2,800.00
	Cost of Sewall Papers, Vol. II. . . . .	1,279.41
	Printing, stationery, and postage . . . . .	109.72
	Fuel and light . . . . .	165.75
	Books and binding . . . . .	73.84
	Repairs . . . . .	81.21
	Care of fire . . . . .	217.14
	Miscellaneous expenses . . . . .	219.69
	Income of Appleton Fund . . . . .	732.18
	Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund . . . . .	482.76
	Income of Dowse Fund . . . . .	600.00
	Reduction of mortgage debt . . . . .	850.00
	Sinking Fund . . . . .	2,000.00
	To balance to new account . . . . .	2,827.29
		<u>\$14,295.90</u>

## CREDITS.

1879.		
March 31.	By balance on hand . . . . .	\$2,426.00
1880.		
March 31.	By sundry receipts:—	
	Rent of Building . . . . .	9,000.00
	Income of General Fund . . . . .	159.70
	Interest . . . . .	45.61
	Income of Dowse Fund . . . . .	600.00
	Admission Fees . . . . .	100.00
	Assessments . . . . .	1,120.00
	Sales of publications . . . . .	844.68
		<u>\$14,295.99</u>
March 31.	By balance brought down . . . . .	<u>\$2,827.29</u>

*Income of Appleton Fund.*

## DEBITS.

1879.		
March 31.	To balance against the account . . . . .	<u>\$2,195.14</u>
1880.		
March 31.	To balance brought down . . . . .	<u>\$1,462.96</u>

## CREDITS.

1880.		
March 31.	By one year's interest on \$12,208 principal . . . . .	\$732.18
	„ balance carried forward . . . . .	1,462.96
		<u>\$2,195.14</u>



*Income of Savage Fund.*

DEBITS.	
1879.	
March 31.	To balance brought forward . . . . . \$176.41
1880.	
March 31.	„ amount paid for books . . . . . 188.12
	<u>\$364.53</u>
March 31.	To balancee brought down . . . . . \$24.53

CREDITS.	
1880.	
March 31.	By two semi-annual dividends on railroad shares . . . \$40.00
	„ one year's interest on railroad bonds . . . . . 300.00
	„ balance to new account . . . . . 24.53
	<u>\$364.53</u>

*Sinking Fund.*

DEBITS.	
1880.	
Jan. 17.	To amount applied to reduction of mortgage . . . . . \$2,000.00

CREDITS.	
1879.	
October 1.	By amount transferred from the General Account . . . \$2,000.00

## TRIAL BALANCE.

DEBITS.	
Cash . . . . .	\$1,016.55
Real Estate . . . . .	103,280.19
Investments . . . . .	36,296.25
Income of Appleton Fund . . . . .	1,462.96
Income of Savage Fund . . . . .	24.53
	<u>\$142,080.48</u>

CREDITS.	
Notes Payable . . . . .	\$43,000.00
Building Account . . . . .	85,077.19
Appleton Fund . . . . .	12,203.00
Dowse Fund . . . . .	10,060.00
Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund . . . . .	3,000.00
Peabody Fund . . . . .	22,123.00
Savage Fund . . . . .	5,023.25
General Fund . . . . .	3,150.00
Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund . . . . .	5,528.75
Income of Peabody Fund . . . . .	148.00
General Account . . . . .	2,827.29
	<u>\$142,080.48</u>



The incumbrances on the real estate of the Society are the mortgage debt, now amounting to \$43,000; the principal of the Appleton Fund, amounting to \$12,203; the principal and accumulated income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund, amounting to \$8,528.75; the principal of the Dowse Fund, amounting to \$10,000; and a part of the General Fund, amounting to \$1,150, — making in the aggregate, \$75,881.75. There must be reserved during the ensuing year from the rent of that part of the building which is leased to the city of Boston \$4,552.90, for interest on the mortgage debt and on the funds chargeable on the real estate; and a further sum of \$2,000 must be set aside for the Sinking Fund. The residue of the rent, amounting to \$2,447.10, will be available for the ordinary uses of the Society; and the interest on that part of the General Fund which is invested in the building is also available for the same uses, — the whole amount available from this source being \$2,516.10. Of this sum a considerable part will be required for the publication of the Sewall Papers.

CHARLES C. SMITH,

*Treasurer.*

Boston, March 31, 1880.

*Report of the Auditing Committee.*

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society, as made up to March 31, 1880, have attended to their duty, and report that they find them correctly kept and properly vouched; that the securities held by him for the several funds correspond with the statement in his Annual Report; that the balance of cash on hand is satisfactorily accounted for; and that the Trial Balance is accurately taken from the Ledger.

AMOS A. LAWRENCE, }  
GEORGE B. CHASE, } *Committee.*

Boston, April 3, 1880.

Mr. W. WARREN, from the Committee to nominate a list of officers for the ensuing year, reported the following list, and the gentlemen named were elected by ballot:—

*President.*

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, LL.D. . . . . BOSTON.

*Vice-Presidents.*

HON. CHARLES F. ADAMS, LL.D. . . . . BOSTON.

REV. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D. . . . . BOSTON.

*Recording Secretary.*

GEORGE DEXTER, A.M. . . . . CAMBRIDGE.

*Corresponding Secretary.*

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D. . . . . CAMBRIDGE.

*Treasurer.*

CHARLES C. SMITH, Esq. . . . . BOSTON.

*Librarian.*

SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D. . . . . BOSTON.

*Cabinet-keeper.*

FITCH EDWARD OLIVER, M.D. . . . . BOSTON.

*Executive Committee of the Council.*

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, A.M. . . . . NEWTON.

JUSTIN WINSOR, A.B. . . . . CAMBRIDGE.

DELANO A. GODDARD, A.M. . . . . BOSTON.

GEORGE B. CHASE, A.M. . . . . BOSTON.

HENRY CABOT LODGE, PH.D. . . . . NAHANT.

On motion of Judge Chamberlain it was

*Voted*, That the thanks of the Society be returned to Mr. William S. Appleton, the retiring Cabinet-keeper, who declines a renomination, after a service of six years; and to Messrs. Winslow Warren and Charles W. Tuttle, whose term of office, as members of the Executive Committee of the Council, has expired by limitation.

The Memoir of the Hon. John Glen King, by William P. Upham, and that of the Hon. John A. Andrew, by Peleg W. Chandler, here follow.

## MEMOIR

OF THE

HON. JOHN GLEN KING, A.M.

BY WILLIAM P. UPHAM.

THE Hon. John Glen King, whose death took place at his residence in Salem, on the 26th day of July, 1857, after a few weeks' illness of paralysis, was born in Salem, March 19, 1787, and accordingly had reached the age of seventy years. He was descended from William King, who sailed from London for Salem in the "Abigail," July 1, 1635, through John,<sup>2</sup> Samuel,<sup>3</sup> John,<sup>4</sup> and James,<sup>5</sup> and was the second son of James and Judith (Norris) King. His mother was a sister of the Hon. John Norris, who, with his wife, Mary (Herbert) Norris, contributed largely to the foundation and endowment of Andover Theological Seminary; and was a lineal descendant of the Rev. Edward Norris of the First Church in Salem, 1640 to 1659.

Mr. King's baptismal name was John King. This was changed by an Act of the Legislature, June 21, 1811, to John Glen King. He graduated from Harvard College in the class of 1807, but did not receive his degree till 1818, having, like many others of that and the succeeding class, left college in May, 1807, during what is known as the "Grand Commons Rebellion." He studied law with Hon. William Prescott (H. C. 1783) and Judge Story (H. C. 1798), and was admitted as attorney at the September Term of the Court of Common Pleas, 1810, and as counsellor at the November Term of the Supreme Judicial Court, 1814, having practised in the latter court two years. He established his law office, in 1811, at Salem, in rooms on the second floor of the building recently destroyed by fire, on the site now occupied by the Price Building, on the south-west corner of Essex and Washington Streets, continuing there, until his death, forty-six years; a case of prolonged occupancy hardly to be paralleled.\*

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\* "Boston Transcript," July 29, 1857.

He attained an eminent rank as a judicious and learned counsellor, and was for many years considered one of the most distinguished members of the Essex Bar. He was repeatedly elected to offices of honor and trust, having been a member of both branches of the State Legislature and of the Executive Council. He was also the first President of the Common Council of Salem at the organization of the City Government, and was for many years a Master in Chancery and Commissioner of Insolvency for the County. As first President of the Common Council, during the mayoralty of Mr. Saltonstall, much of the labor incident to the first organization in detail of the municipal government was intrusted to him, and the city of Salem is largely indebted to him for the code of rules and regulations now in use. He was one of the founders of the Essex Historical Society, afterward the Essex Institute, and for many years the Corresponding Secretary and one of the Vice-Presidents. He was for some years President of the Salem and Danvers Aqueduct Company. Mr. King delivered the oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Cambridge, in 1820.

While a member of the House of Representatives, he had an important share in the management of the celebrated Prescott Impeachment Case, in 1821, being appointed to make the impeachment at the bar of the House, in the name of the House and of the people of Massachusetts, and also one of the seven managers to conduct the impeachment before the Senate. Although younger than several of the managers, he was selected as chairman, and made the opening argument. In the performance of the duties assigned him in this important and novel case, Mr. King exhibited marked ability and skill. It was, however, in the responsible and confidential relations of a trusted counsellor rather than in the more active pursuit of a pleader that Mr. King was known. His character for honor and integrity caused him to be much employed in matters relating to the settlement and distribution of estates and the execution of trusts, and as referee in civil controversies. He possessed remarkable acuteness and firmness of judgment; and, while conservative in his tendencies, was ever ready and quick to investigate and search out the truth, and resolute in the maintenance of the right. A somewhat sensitive nature led him to avoid an ambitious public life, although appreciative of attention, and desirous of the good opinion of others.

Mr. King was pre-eminently a scholar, and his love of literature and of books was well known to his contemporaries.

His well-selected library was to him a constant source of pleasure and recreation, and the sight of it near him cheered and enlivened the last days of his declining life. He especially delighted in the study of the ancient classics and the writings of the early fathers of the Christian Church, being a thorough Biblical scholar; and from his own study, reading, and reflection he became liberal in his views on religious subjects.

The following just tribute to the memory of Mr. King is contained in a "Letter from Boston" in the "Salem Gazette" of July 31, 1857:—

"The Hon. John Glen King, whose death at the ripe age of seventy years was announced in your last paper, was a gentleman universally respected for his private worth and his public services and example. All who have had the pleasure of an intimate acquaintance with him have been blest by his social qualities, his urbanity of manner, and his kindness of heart. The odor of his virtues will long endure among his friends. Truly a good man has departed."

Mr. King married, Nov. 10, 1815, Susan H., daughter of Major Frederick Gilman, and sister of Rev. Samuel Gilman, D.D., for many years the revered and beloved pastor of a church in Charleston, S. C., whose wife, Mrs. Caroline Gilman, was the editor of the "Southern Rosebud," and well known as a distinguished author.

Though suffering from occasional attacks of gout, the soundness of his health and the vigor of his faculties were unimpaired until a short time before his last illness, and the announcement of his death caused a widespread feeling of bereavement. Resolutions were adopted by the Essex Institute, deeply deploring the decease of its Vice-President "as a loss to literature and history, he having been in his lifetime eminent for his classical tastes and attainments, and conspicuous for his uniform devotion to sound literature." At a meeting of the Essex Bar Association, July 27, 1857, Hon. Daniel A. White presiding, a committee reported resolutions, which were unanimously adopted.

"That the Essex Bar Association have heard with deep regret of the decease of the Hon. John Glen King, one of the oldest members of their Society, who has been identified with the profession of the law in Essex County for the last half century;

"That they avail themselves of this melancholy occasion to express their high regard for his integrity, his fidelity, and his eminent professional merit; and that although most of those now engaged in the practice are by a long interval his juniors, yet young as well as old will unite in paying a sincere tribute to the memory of one of the last

representatives of that Essex Bar, which was so long and so widely known and honored.

*"Resolved,* That the Bar is proud to feel that it is not only in the path of the profession that their departed brother has been distinguished, but that in all the relations of public and private life the consent of his fellow-citizens has awarded to his character the merit to which he was entitled, and that the numerous and responsible stations which through a long life he has been called upon to occupy, all indicated the unlimited and unabated confidence which was reposed in him."

Mr. King was chosen a member of the Historical Society in June, 1835.





*Wm. Anderson*







## MEMOIR

OF THE

HON. JOHN ALBION ANDREW, LL.D.

BY PELEG W. CHANDLER.

IMMEDIATELY after the death of Governor Andrew, in 1868, the Massachusetts Historical Society took appropriate action, and a member was appointed to prepare a Memoir of our deceased Associate. The unusual delay in this work has arisen partly from the authoritative announcement that an accomplished writer was collecting materials for an extended biography of the great War Governor, and it seemed best to postpone the sketch for this Society in the hope of being able to make a more satisfactory statement of Mr. Andrew's life and labors, from the light thrown upon them by a biographer selected by the family, one in every way competent to the work. It is now probable that the memoir referred to will not be published for a considerable time, if at all. Moreover, at the time of Mr. Andrew's death the fires of controversy were still burning, and it was thought that the subject might be treated in a more just and dispassionate way after the lapse of time, when the principles on which he acted could be better appreciated, and the prophetic character of his writings might be tested by time and experience. There was also a natural reluctance on the part of one of his earliest and most constant friends to attempt, in the space usually allowed for matters of this kind, the analysis of a character so remarkable, which should be just to him and loyal to the truth. In the Uffizi Gallery at Florence, there is an unfinished bust of Brutus, and underneath some lines were at one time seen indicating that the artist abandoned his labor in despair, because overcome by the grandeur of the subject.

*"Brutum effcisset sculptor, sed mente recursat  
Tanta viri virtus, sistit, et obstupuit."*

It is with something of this feeling that the sketch just now prepared is submitted to the Society.

JOHN ALBION ANDREW, the twenty-first governor of Massachusetts, was born at Windham, a small town near Portland, in the State of Maine, May 31, 1818. The family descended from Robert Andrew, who came from England to Rowley Village, now Boxford, and died there in 1688. A grandmother of Governor Andrew was the granddaughter of the famous Captain William Pickering, and the mother of her husband was Mary Higginson, a descendant of Francis Higginson. His grandfather was originally a silversmith, and afterward a merchant in Salem, where his son Jonathan, the Governor's father, was born in 1782. The latter was educated in the public schools and became a trader. He left Salem in early manhood for Windham, where he bought a small house, still standing, near the Presumpscot River, and established the business of a general trader, in which he was fairly well successful. He was greatly respected as a citizen, a deacon of the church, a man of substance and of great influence. In 1817 he married, under interesting circumstances, Miss Nancy Green Pierce, of New Hampshire, who was a teacher in the celebrated academy at Fryeburg, where Daniel Webster was once employed in the same capacity. She was thrown from a horse, and was taken to a tavern in Naples where young Andrew happened to be. An acquaintance there formed resulted in marriage.

Both of these young people were above the ordinary mark. Jonathan Andrew was a quiet, reticent man, of much intelligence and a keen perception of the ludicrous. Firm, courageous and resolute, he was at the same time shy, and so unobtrusive as to pass for less than his worth, except with those who knew him well. Of his wife it is almost impossible to speak in terms of exaggeration. She was well educated, with great sweetness of temper, and altogether highly prepossessing in appearance. They had four children, all of whom are now living, except the oldest, — John Albion, born May 31, 1818; Isaac Watson, born August 11, 1819; Sarah Elizabeth, born September 6, 1822; Nancy Alfreda, born May 21, 1824.

There never was a more united and happy family. The father possessed ample means for their education, and left his household to the good management of his wife, who was admirable in her domestic arrangements, judicious, sensible, energetic, and a rigid disciplinarian of her children. There was a rare union of gentleness and force in this woman, which made her generally attractive, and especially endeared her to all who came under the influence of her character.

"Her voice was ever soft,  
Gentle and low, — an excellent thing in woman."

She was a fine singer, and had remarkable conversational powers.\* Their home was the usual resort of the ministers when visiting or journeying through the town, and in this way the family had excellent opportunities for acquiring information from the cultured men of the day. Mr. Andrew disliked to send his children to the public school, but built a schoolhouse on his own land. Mrs. Andrew, who had been in feeble health for several years, died on the 7th of March, 1832, aged 48. It was a great shock to her husband, who never afterward took much interest in business affairs. He soon sold out his property in Windham, and removed to a farm in Boxford, in the county where he was born. He died in September, 1849, at the age of 67.†

His oldest son was fitted for college at Gorham Academy, then under the charge of a celebrated teacher, the Rev. Reuben Nason. He entered Bowdoin College in 1833, where his career was in no way remarkable. He is remembered as a bright, genial boy, of curly hair and a somewhat peculiar appearance, short, very thick, and his head and body out of proportion to the lower extremities. He was not adapted to the ordinary college sports, in which he appeared to take very little interest. As a scholar, he was among the lowest in the class, and had no part at Commencement. But he was by no means an idler. On the contrary he was constantly occupied in general reading, greatly interested in current literature, and always ready for discussion, especially of political topics. He was popular among all without any effort to be so, and always so genial, without the least self-consciousness, as to render him an unusual favorite. He was

\* Mr. Andrew, being naturally quite taciturn, always desired his wife to lead off in conversation. The Governor used to tell with great glee a story which illustrated their different characteristics. The deacon, like all the country traders of that day, dealt in ardent spirits. When the temperance reform was started, his wife entered into it with great interest. She was particularly desirous that he should give up the sale of liquor. For weeks, the children used to hear her, after retiring, lecture their father on the subject with earnest volubility. He kept silent; but at length, one night, after a discourse of unusual length and vivacity, told her quietly that he had given up the sale for some months.

† Jonathan Andrew was devotedly attached to his children; but, like all shy and taciturn men, he was grave in appearance, and his children had something of the old-fashioned awe and respect in their intercourse with him. In the only letter to him from the Governor which is preserved (1844), he is addressed as "Honored Father," and the signature is "Your dutiful son." The first letter John A. Andrew wrote to his father in college was addressed, "Dear Father," and signed, "Yours affectionately." The father sent him word that this was not proper, but that his letters should be addressed as above.

not regarded as dull, very much the contrary; but he seemed to be indifferent to the ordinary routine of college honors — possessed of that happy temperament which enabled him then and for many years afterward to pass quietly along without a touch of the emulous jealousies and temptations that wait on the ambitious aspirations of the young as well as the old.

On coming to Boston, he entered the office of the late Henry H. Fuller, with whom he passed his whole novitiate. It always seemed to me that his character was much affected by contact with that somewhat remarkable and much misunderstood lawyer. Mr. Fuller was a man of genial temperament, an excellent scholar (second in the class of which Edward Everett was first), of wide reading and extensive acquirements, — a man who loved young men and assisted them in every way he could; and also of such marked peculiarities, of such wonderful crotchets and such heroic obstinacy, that he naturally and especially attracted, and, in some respects, almost fascinated his pupil. The attraction between him and young Andrew was mutual. They became almost like brothers. The student sat at the same desk with the master, entered into all the business affairs of the office, wrote letters from dictation, and was consulted on almost every subject that came up; so that they seemed, in fact, like one person. Mr. Fuller had an extensive acquaintance with all sorts of men. He knew the personal history of almost every citizen of the town and of all public characters, living and dead. He had decided opinions, which he never hesitated to pronounce on any suitable occasion. Mr. Andrew, with the curiosity of a young man fresh from the country, took this all in; but what is remarkable, while some of the peculiar traits of the master stuck to the pupil, the latter had decided opinions of his own, especially in regard to American slavery, which were sometimes in ludicrous contrast with those of his senior. Mr. Fuller was a conservative of conservatives. He stood by the ancient ways even in the cut of his coat and the shape of his hat; his ruffled shirt, his white cravat, shirt-collar, and tall stove-pipe hat of real fur, were significant of a past generation. Young Andrew became interested in many of the reform movements of the day, and was as firm and peculiar in one direction as his friend was in another.

He did not rise rapidly at the bar. He was a faithful and painstaking lawyer, looking up his cases with care and industry, and probably never lost a client who had once employed him. Here, too, he always seemed destitute of ambi-

tion — that is, in the ordinary meaning of the term. He did his duty and there was an end. It has been said that he was not a learned lawyer. Perhaps in one sense he was not; he certainly was not a legal pedant. There are men who study for the profession with great patience and perseverance, who master in the outset its main principles and are thoroughly prepared, so far as books are concerned, for whatever may come. They are veterans almost before they have seen service. There are other men who, from the force of circumstances or their mental characteristics, have not carefully read all the text-books, and are obliged, after coming to the bar, to pick up their law as they need it, — raw recruits who will become veterans by actual service, unless picked off in some battle at an early and unexpected stage of their practice. By studying their cases, investigating every collateral point and going to the bottom of the matter, they are enabled to master the present difficulties, and, in the course of time, become able and even learned lawyers, without the reputation of being so, from the fact of early deficiencies.

Mr. Andrew entered upon the investigation of his cases with great zeal and industry. No man at the bar studied harder. When he tried a cause he meant to gain it if he could. There was no sentimentalism here. He used any proper weapon he could find in the armory of the law; and he liked success even on the most technical points. He tried a case with courage, perseverance, spirit, and a dash of old-fashioned but manly temper. Those who have been associated with or opposed to him in the courts know very well that he was a dangerous opponent long before he had much reputation as a lawyer.

During all these years he was not what is called a student, but was never idle. He entered largely into many of the moral questions of that day; was greatly interested in the preaching of James Freeman Clarke; a constant attendant at meetings and the Bible classes. Occasional lay preaching being the custom of that church, young Andrew sometimes occupied the pulpit and conducted the services to the general acceptance of the people.

His personal qualities were most attractive. Those who admired him at a distance loved him on acquaintance. It is difficult for people who did not know him intimately to appreciate or even to understand the personal magnetism of this man. His respectful deference toward the sex was conspicuous, his love of children intense; and there was such an entire simplicity, unpretending geniality, united to fun and



drollery, as to attract everybody to him. Everywhere and at all times he was welcome. He was fond of music. Although without scientific knowledge, he had a good voice and sang with great spirit, especially in the old ballads and hymns. It was worth a journey to hear him in Coronation or Dundee, Tamworth or Old Hundred. He was an excellent reader, and was always willing to delight the circle by a repetition of old ballads, or the reading of poems, particularly Gray's *Elegy*.

He was full of wit and anecdote — brimful; not merely of the sort which is found in books and newspapers, or which floats in polite society. In stores and taverns, in stage-coaches, and among the laborers of the corn-field, and in haying-time, he had heard the Yankee dialect with all its wit and humor, and he never forgot any thing especially if it were droll. In his knowledge and appreciation of New England character, of the town system, and of the laws affecting municipal corporations, he greatly resembled the late Chief Justice Shaw, — that great magistrate whose grim appearance on the bench gave no token of the warm heart and genial nature he actually had, and the love of fun and anecdote which was conspicuous in the social circle, and especially at the Law and Friday Clubs.

At the same time, Governor Andrew, although so mirthful and even boyish in social life and in business affairs, was, as the chief executive officer of the Commonwealth, a great stickler for proper forms and ceremonies. It was also quite noticeable that in his public speeches he seldom indulged in a humorous strain, or told a story to illustrate a point in his argument. It is not improbable, that, while he gained something in dignity, there was a loss in interest, and in the power of illustration which is possessed by those who are capable of applying homely maxims or humorous stories to argumentative discourse. Illustration is to logic sometimes what concussion is to pressure in mechanics. The blow of a mallet may drive in a wedge more effectually than the weight of many tons.

On his admission to the bar, Governor Andrew became active in politics, an energetic and enthusiastic member of the Whig party, often speaking "on the stump," and thoroughly in earnest. Of his interest in the anti-slavery movement, it is necessary to speak a little more at length.

From early youth, Andrew was interested in all questions affecting the happiness of the race. At twelve, he made a speech in a public meeting at Windham, on temperance. While





To my two Sisters this little volume  
is affectionately presented, with the  
greatest aspiration that the ins-  
truction contained in it, and incul-  
-cated by one of the gifted ones of their  
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them to remember that of one  
blood, God made all the nations  
of the earth. Your brother  
Albion

in college, he was constantly discussing the anti-slavery question: and it was at this time (1833) that he sent a work of Mrs. L. M. Child, entitled "An Appeal in favor of that class of Americans called Africans," to his sisters, with these words written on the fly-leaf:—

"To my two sisters this little volume is affectionately presented, with the fervent aspiration that the instruction contained in it, and inculcated by one of the gifted ones of their own sex, may prompt their hearts to pity for the oppressed African, may upset all prejudice that may be implanted there against those immortal beings, whose only crime is that of being unfortunate and having a skin of a darker hue than their own, and may teach them to remember that 'of one blood God made all the nations of the earth.'

"Your brother,

"ALBION."

In 1859, he was a member of the lower branch of the Legislature, and at once took a prominent and leading position. In 1860, he was nominated for Governor of the Commonwealth, "by a genuine popular impulse which overwhelmed the old political managers, who regarded him as an intruder upon the arena, and had laid other plans." When he was nominated as Governor, there were many who voted for him with hesitation, in the fear that a man so radical, so firm, and so outspoken, might be unsafe in action. His friends, whether agreeing with him or not, judged him better. They knew his practical sense, and felt sure that whatever rhetorical expressions might have escaped his lips, his action would be safe. Even they were disappointed, however, in the immense executive ability he displayed from the first hour he entered the State House until he left it. The simplicity and directness of his action as Chief Magistrate were as remarkable as they were sometimes amusing. He never was deterred by provincial conventionalisms from doing what he thought right, and in the way he deemed best. Formalism or snobbery or red tape never stood in his way a moment. He was a keen observer and understood all the proprieties of his position perfectly well. No one was likely to impose upon him by mere manner, and, while he never intentionally gave offence, it was obvious that he understood the character of men very well, whatever might be their style or dress. He found no difficulty in discerning merit, although covered with rags, and a black skin did not alarm him. Indeed, the adverse personal surroundings of men that usually operate against them had precisely the opposite effect

on him; and he was sometimes imposed upon by this very fact.

It is hardly necessary to say, that, at no period since the adoption of the constitution was the position of Chief Magistrate of Massachusetts so arduous and responsible as at the time of his accession to the office. But he was found equal to the emergency, and early acquired, by general consent, the title of "the great War Governor." This is not the place for any thing more than a general statement of what he did. Nor is it consistent with the usages of this Society to enter into a discussion of controverted political points, in connection with biographical sketches of our deceased associates.

In his inaugural address (1861), he advised that a portion of the militia should be placed on a footing of activity, in order that "in the possible contingencies of the future, the State might be ready, without inconvenient delay, to contribute her share of force in any exigency of public danger"; and immediately upon being inducted into office, he despatched a confidential messenger to the Governors of Maine and New Hampshire, to inform them of his determination to prepare for instant service the militia of Massachusetts, and to invite their co-operation. His military orders and purchases of war material subjected him to much ridicule and reproach, but subsequent events fully justified his course, and his acts were looked upon as evidence of remarkable foresight. The quiet opposition at the time, however, in the Legislature was very strong, and it came in considerable part from his own political friends. Indeed it is a remarkable fact, that while an unquestionable majority of the people were in his favor, a majority of the Legislature was really opposed to him, although not venturing upon any direct collision. A leading member of the House and of the party, at the session of 1861, told me that Governor Andrew ought never again to be a candidate for the office of governor; that his re-election was impossible. His ways were not the ways of politicians; his methods were not their methods, and he did not count much on their support, or fear the opposition of those who were governed by ideas of mere expediency in emergencies involving principles, and requiring the earnest efforts and unselfish devotion of men who hoped for ultimate success by a firm reliance on truth and justice. He looked with something like contempt and even abhorrence upon all makeshift attempts at compromise, where the great interests of humanity were to be sacrificed to the pressing emergencies which are the refuge and final destruction of the weak and cowardly.

He was chosen governor in 1860 and retired from office at the end of 1865. These were years of unexampled interest and importance in the history of the country. It soon became clear that the Governor was remarkably well fitted for the new and trying duties of the position. Those who knew him best were of the opinion that, in the ordinary and peaceful administration of affairs he might never have shown the remarkable ability which he possessed; and some even maintained that, although he could scarcely have made a failure, he might have passed into history with the crowd of high officials who perform their duties fairly well, but attain no marked prominence in the history and progress of human affairs.

In this man, however, there was a rare union of intellectual ability, enthusiasm, firmness, unflinching courage and undoubting religious faith, which enabled him to meet every trying emergency as it arose, to surmount unexpected difficulties, and to inspire in all who watched him an admiration that encouraged while it sustained their own efforts in the defence of the great principles on which our government rests.

It is impossible in this brief sketch to go into much detail as to the Governor's services in these memorable years, but an allusion to some of the prominent points may be expected.\* The alacrity with which he met the call of the President for troops, and the energy displayed in sending off the first regiments are well remembered. From the first moment that it became clear there was to be war, he entered into the campaign with all the ardor of his nature. "Immediately," he wrote to President Lincoln, on the 3d of May, "on receiving your Proclamation, we took up the war, and have carried on our part of it, in the spirit in which we believe the Administration and the American people intend to act, namely, as if there was not an inch of red tape in the world."

He early saw the weakest point of the Confederates, and constantly maintained that a blow should be struck at the institution which lay at the foundation of all our troubles, by calling the negroes of the South to rally in defence of the flag. Others had doubts, others hesitated, but his vision was clear

\* There are in the State House of this Commonwealth more than thirty thousand pages of letters relating to the war, and Governor Andrew's private correspondence occupies some five thousand pages more. Any adequate account of his services can be given only by a complete history of the Civil War. During his administration he sent to the two branches of the Legislature nearly one hundred messages.

from the start, and he never wavered. When the first colored regiment was formed, he remarked to a friend, that, in regard to other regiments, he accepted men as officers who were sometimes rough and uncultivated, "but these men," he said, "shall be commanded by officers who are eminently and technically *gentlemen*."

It was in January, 1863, that official sanction was first given to the raising of colored troops. The Governor obtained, in a personal interview with the Secretary of War, authority to raise volunteer companies of artillery for duty in the forts of Massachusetts and elsewhere, and such companies of infantry for the volunteer military service as he might find convenient. To this the Governor added with his own hand the words, "and may include persons of African descent organized into separate corps," to which the Secretary assented. This was the first authorization of an act which caused the greatest excitement everywhere, and struck a heavier blow at the enemy than any before given. One bright May morning the 54th, the equal of the best in the quality, discipline and equipment of the men and the character of the officers, marched down Beacon Street and passed the Governor in review, in presence of fifty thousand men.\*

In regard to the emancipation of the slaves, Governor Andrew was among the first, as he was the most persistent advocate of a measure which he considered the greatest blow that could be struck at the enemy, fully justified as a measure of war, and demanded by every consideration of justice and humanity. On this subject he manifested more impatience than on any other, and was greatly discouraged, disturbed, and even disgusted by the delays at Washington and the obstructions thrown in the way by those in authority. All this is matter of history; but an incident occurred in relation to it, which, so far as I know, has never been in print, and is worth being stated in connection with this subject, as it is significant in more respects than one.

Among the Governor's friends was a young merchant of Boston, and I will let him tell the story in his own way:—

"It was in the summer of 1862, when emancipation was being talked a great deal. We had not had any great successes, and everybody had a notion that emancipation ought to come. One day the Governor sent for me to come up to the State House. I went up to his room, and I never shall

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\* Sketch of the Military Life of Governor Andrew, by Colonel Albert G. Browne, Jr., military secretary to the Governor.

forget how I met him. He was signing some kind of bonds, standing at a tall desk in the council chamber, in his shirt sleeves, his fingers all covered with ink. He said, 'How do you do? I want you to go to Washington.' 'Why, Governor,' said I, 'I can't go to Washington on any such notice as this. I am busy, and it is impossible for me to go.' 'All my folks are serving their country,' said he; and he mentioned the various services the members of his staff were engaged in, and said with emphasis, 'Somebody must go to Washington.' 'Well, Governor, I don't see how I can.' Said he, 'I command you to go.' 'Well,' said I, 'Governor, put it in that way and I shall go, of course.' 'There is something going on,' he remarked. 'This is a momentous time.' He turned suddenly toward me and said, 'You believe in prayer, don't you?' I said, 'Why, of course.' 'Then let us pray'; and he knelt right down at the chair that was placed there; we both kneeled down, and I never heard such a prayer in all my life. I never was so near the throne of God, except when my mother died, as I was then. I said to the Governor, 'I am profoundly impressed; and I will start this afternoon for Washington.' I soon found out that emancipation was in everybody's mouth, and when I got to Washington and called upon Sumner, he began to talk emancipation. He asked me to go and see the President, and tell him how the people of Boston and New England regarded it. I went to the White House that evening and met the President. We first talked about every thing but emancipation, and finally he asked me what I thought about emancipation. I told him what I thought about it, and said that Governor Andrew was so far interested in it that I had no doubt he had sent me on there to post the President in regard to what the class of people I met in Boston and New York thought of it, and then I repeated to him, as I had previously to Sumner, this prayer of the Governor's, as well as I could remember it. The President said, 'When we have the Governor of Massachusetts to send us troops in the way he has, and when we have him to utter such prayers for us, I have no doubt that we shall succeed.' In September the Governor sent for me. He had a despatch that emancipation would be proclaimed, and it was done the next day. You remember the President made proclamation in September to take effect in January. Well, he and I were together alone again in the council-chamber. Said he, 'You remember when I wanted you to go on to Washington?' I said, 'Yes, I remember it very well.' 'Well,' said he, 'I didn't know exactly what I wanted



you to go for then. Now I will tell you what let's do: you sing Coronation, and I'll join with you.' So we sang together the old tune, and also Praise God from Whom All Blessings Flow. Then I sang Old John Brown,—he marching around the room and joining in the chorus after each verse."

It is proper to say here with emphasis, that, although Governor Andrew was occupied during his whole term with national affairs, to an extent altogether unusual in Massachusetts, local interests of the Commonwealth were by no means neglected. On the contrary, he exercised a careful supervision over all the institutions that had claims upon his time; and was vigilant in seeing that the laws were promptly executed. He frequently visited the various punitory and charitable institutions, and devoted much time to the examination of all special cases where there were questions in regard to pardons or commutations of sentence. Although strongly opposed to capital punishment, he did not hesitate to sign the death-warrant in cases where there were no special reasons for dispensing with the extreme penalty of the law. A glance at his various messages to the Legislature will show that, although denominated a "War Governor" he was by no means inattentive to the ordinary duties of his office.

The first message of the Governor (Jan. 5, 1861) was largely occupied in a discussion of domestic affairs—the finances of the Commonwealth, Valuation, Agriculture, Banks and Banking, the Usury Laws (earnestly advocating a change), Mutual Insurance Companies, Public Charitable Institutions, Capital Punishment, Practical Scientific Institutions, Boston Harbor and Back Bay, Marriage and Divorce, Cape Cod Canal, the Provincial Statutes, the Two Years' Amendment, the General Statutes, the provisions of the statutes concerning Personal Liberty, the Pacific Railroad.

All of these topics were ably treated. He made a powerful argument against that provision of our law preventing the marriage of a person against whom a decree of divorce had been granted. "This anomaly," he said, "originated many years ago, in certain ecclesiastical theories concerning the institution of marriage, and was devised by the ecclesiastics themselves. In our own age, the theory upon which the law enforces the celibacy of a divorced husband or wife is that of punishment for the offence which was the occasion of the divorce." He recommended a change, so that a power could be lodged in some tribunal to mitigate the hardships of the law, according to the circumstances of each case, what-



ever may have been the cause of the dissolution of the marriage.

A bill was introduced in accordance with this suggestion, but it met with most violent opposition, especially from clergymen in the House of Representatives, and was defeated. At the next session, the Governor again referred to the subject, and renewed his recommendation "for such a modification of our laws touching marriage and divorce as shall lodge in some tribunal the power to mitigate the penalty of celibacy as a consequence of divorce, whatever may have been the cause of the dissolution of the marriage." It was not, however, until 1864 that this recommendation was followed, and an act was passed, conferring power on the Supreme Judicial Court to authorize a party against whom a divorce from the bonds of matrimony, for the cause of adultery, had been granted (except where the party had been convicted of adultery) to marry again. (Acts of 1864, ch. 216.)

The Governor, in his message (1861), called attention to the propriety of making some change in the usury laws. He alluded to the fact that, in the year 1818, a very able committee, appointed by the British House of Commons, made an elaborate report recommending a modification of the usury laws. But so strongly were the people opposed to the measure, that more than twenty years elapsed before any favorable action to that end was adopted. At last, in 1839, a law was enacted by Parliament, exempting bills of exchange and promissory notes, not having more than twelve months to run, from the operation of these laws; and for twenty-one years this enactment had been satisfactory to the British public. He suggested whether a similar change in our own laws might not be wise. Nothing was accomplished at that session, but in 1867 the law in Massachusetts was altered to a greater extent than had been recommended by Governor Andrew.

Governor Andrew was strongly opposed to capital punishment and recommended an alteration of the law in his first message. But, as before remarked, he did not allow his convictions on this subject to interfere with the execution of the law while it was in force, and signed the death-warrant in several cases during his term of office.

In his second message (1862) he suggested the expediency of no longer insisting by statute that each Representative in Congress shall be an inhabitant of the district from which he is elected, declaring such a law to be unconstitutional.

When a bill was reported in the House of Representatives to divide the Commonwealth into legislative districts for the

choice of Representatives, there was an exciting discussion. Mr. Caleb Cushing, Mr. P. W. Chandler, and others advocated the course recommended by the Governor, contending that the restrictive clause was clearly unconstitutional, but the Act was passed with a clause requiring the people of each Congressional district to limit their choice of Representatives in Congress to an inhabitant of the district. The Governor vetoed the bill in a message containing a masterly argument against its constitutionality and expediency. But the Act was passed over the veto and is now in operation, or rather is *unrepealed*, but has been practically disregarded in several instances.

The message of 1863 was naturally and necessarily much taken up with matters connected with the war, but the economical and other special interests of the Commonwealth received careful attention. The Harbors and Flats, the Troy and Greenfield Railroad, Banking and Currency, Pleuro-Pneumonia, Farming, Public Schools, were sensibly considered. There was also an elaborate discussion of the acts of the 37th Congress granting to each of the several States a portion of the public domain, "to the endowment, support, and maintenance of at least one college, where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts in such manner as the Legislatures of the States may respectively prescribe, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life." The apportionment to each State was, in quantity, equal to 30,000 acres of land for each Senator and Representative in Congress, to which the States were respectively entitled by the apportionment under the census of 1860. The Governor entered upon an elaborate examination of the whole subject, in which he expressed the opinion that the Congressional grant was exposed to the danger of being divided in each State among several unimportant seminaries instead of being concentrated on one institution of commanding influence and efficiency:—

"The Act of Congress does not make provision sufficient for an Agricultural School of the highest class in each State. Nor would it be possible now to find, disconnected from our colleges and universities, as many men of high talent, and otherwise competent, as would be required to fill the chairs of one such school. But Massachusetts already has in the projected Bussey Institution an agricultural school founded, though not yet in operation, with a large endowment, con-

nected also with Harvard College and the Lawrence Scientific School. She can, therefore, by securing the grant from Congress, combining with the Institute of Technology and the Zoölogical Museum, and working in harmony with the College, secure also for the agricultural student for whom she thus provides, not only the benefits of the national appropriation, but of the Bussey Institution and the means and instrumentalities of the Institute of Technology, as well as those accumulated at Cambridge. The benefits to our State and to our country and to mankind, which can be obtained by this co-operation, are of the highest character, and can be obtained in no other way. The details of the connection of the Bussey Institution with the Scientific School and the College are not yet fully wrought out, but I apprehend that little difficulty would be found in connecting it also with the grant from Congress, if the gentlemen who may be intrusted by the State with the work, will approach it with the perception of the absolute necessity for husbanding our materials, both men and money, and concentrating all our efforts upon making an institution worthy of our age and of our people. Its summit must reach the highest level of modern science, and its heads must be those whom men will recognize as capable of planning a great work, and of working out a great plan."

The message of 1864 was considerably occupied by a consideration of local subjects affecting the special interests of the Commonwealth, all of which were discussed with an ability and discrimination which showed that they had been carefully examined. He recommends the establishment of a military academy and re-asserts his opinion, expressed the year before in connection with an agricultural college, that "the one great and commanding duty and capability of our Commonwealth — her way to unchallenged influence and admiration among the States — is the discovering, unfolding, and teaching the secrets of knowledge and their scientific application to the arts of civilized humanity."

The recommendation of Governor Andrew in regard to the Agricultural College was not acceded to by the General Court, and he thus alludes to the subject in the annual message of 1865: —

"Although overruled by the better judgment of the Legislature as to the views which I had the honor to present at length in the annual address of 1863, and although I remain more fully convinced than ever, after the reflection of two intervening years, of their substantial soundness, I have felt it to be my official duty cordially to co-operate in endeavoring to give vitality and efficient action to the college under the auspices determined by the law of its creation. Of all the places offered and possible under the charter, the place selected by the Trustees seemed justly to be preferred, having in view all the relative advantages of each.

"My own idea of a college likely to be useful in the largest way to the people, most vigorous in its growth, promotive of the progress of thrifty and intelligent farming, productive of scientific and exact knowledge (which is the true basis of prosperity), worthy of Massachusetts, and able to command the respect, while it challenges the pride, of her agricultural community—is one perhaps not yet to be realized."

Whether the course recommended by the Governor or the one actually adopted for the establishment of an agricultural college was the best, there is at this day, in the light of the experience we have had, very little doubt.

While in office Governor Andrew felt obliged to send in no less than twelve veto messages. In ten of these the bills did not pass over his veto. Of the two bills that were passed notwithstanding his veto, one was a Resolve authorizing additional compensation to members of the Legislature. The other was an Act to divide the Commonwealth into districts for the choice of Representatives in the Congress of the United States to which reference has been made already, which passed the Senate (1862), notwithstanding his veto, by a vote of 22 to 11, and the House by a vote of 137 to 67. It is without doubt unconstitutional in some of its provisions, and they have been in fact disregarded.

Governor Andrew's character as a man of practical sense was somewhat misunderstood before his election, and even now the error is not entirely cleared, except to those who carefully watched his official acts. When a distinguished judge expressed some alarm at his nomination for fear of his eccentricities, one who knew him well replied, "Yes; he is an emotional man and a rhetorician; he may have made some extravagant remarks, but did any one ever know him to *do* a foolish thing?" In point of fact he was one of the most sensible, practical, and safe governors we ever had. He showed great sagacity and ability in the treatment of business questions where the interests of the Commonwealth were affected, and his recommendations in regard to all matters relating to social science and the economical welfare of the people were discriminating, sound and just. And so in regard to political questions. He was an anti-slavery man from principle. He was thoroughly in earnest in his opposition to the extension of the slave power. But he acted with the Whig party of Massachusetts and never went beyond the line authorized by regular resolutions of that party adopted time and again.

In the course of a long discussion of the provisions of the

statutes concerning personal liberty, in his inaugural address of 1861, he says, "In dismissing this topic, I have only to add that, in regard not only to one, but to every subject bearing on her Federal relations, Massachusetts has always conformed to her honest understanding of all constitutional obligations — that she has always conformed to the judicial decisions — has never threatened either to nullify or to disobey — and that the decision in one suit fully contested, constitutes a precedent for the future."

And further on, while speaking of the state of the country and condemning in severe terms the course of President Buchanan and of some of the Southern States, he says, "And yet, during all the excitement of this period, inflamed by the heats of repeated Presidential elections, I have never known a single Massachusetts Republican to abandon his loyalty, surrender his faith, or seal up his heart against the good hopes and kind affections which every devoted citizen ought to entertain for every section of his country. During all this maladministration of the national government, the people of Massachusetts have never wavered from their faith in its principles or their loyalty to its organization."

But he fully comprehended at that early time the momentous issue involved, which was, more than the union of these States, even the very existence of a republican government in any country.

"Upon this issue over the heads of all mere politicians and partisans, in behalf of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts I appeal directly to the warm hearts and clear heads of the great masses of the people. The men who own and till the soil, who drive the mills, and hammer out their own iron and leather on their own anvils and lap-stones, and they who, whether in the city or the country, reap the rewards of enterprising industry and skill in the varied pursuits of business, are honest, intelligent, patriotic, independent, and brave. They know that simple defeat in an election is no cause for the disruption of a government. They know that those who declare that they will not live peaceably within the Union do not mean to live peaceably out of it. They know that the people of all sections have a right, which they intend to maintain, of free access from the interior to both oceans, and from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, and of the free use of all the lakes and rivers and highways of commerce, North, South, East, or West. They know that the Union means peace, and unfettered commercial intercourse from sea to sea and from shore to shore; that it secures us all against the unfriendly presence or possible dictation of any foreign power, and commands respect for our flag and security for our trade. And they do not intend, nor will they ever consent, to be excluded from these rights which they have so long enjoyed, nor to

abandon the prospect of the benefits which Humanity claims for itself by means of their continued enjoyment in the future. Neither will they consent that the continent shall be overrun by the victims of a remorseless cupidity, and the elements of civil danger increased by the barbarizing influences which accompany the African slave-trade. Inspired by the same ideas and emotions which commanded the fraternization of Jackson and Webster on another great occasion of public danger, the people of Massachusetts, confiding in the patriotism of their brethren in other States, accept this issue, and respond, in the words of Jackson, '*The Federal Union, it must be preserved.*'"

From this time he went in for a vigorous prosecution of the war, and urged on every measure to defeat the Confederate armies that was consistent with the laws of war. He was particularly strenuous in demanding the emancipation of the slaves. On this point, I cannot do better than to quote from the admirable sketch of the Governor by his military secretary during the war, Albert G. Browne, Jr., Esq.

"Over the bodies of our soldiers who were killed at Baltimore he had recorded a prayer that he might live to see the end of the war, and a vow that, so long as he should govern Massachusetts, and so far as Massachusetts could control the issue, it should not end without freeing every slave in America. He believed, at the first, in the policy of emancipation as a war measure. Finding that timid counsels controlled the government at Washington, and the then commander of the Army of the Potomac, so that there was no light in that quarter, he hailed the action of Frémont in Missouri in proclaiming freedom to the western slaves. Through all the reverses which afterwards befell that officer he never varied from this friendship; and when at last Frémont retired from the Army of Virginia, the Governor offered him the command of a Massachusetts regiment, and vainly urged him to take the field again under our State flag. Just so, afterwards, he welcomed the similar action of Hunter in South Carolina, and wrote in his defence the famous letter in which he urged, 'to fire at the enemy's magazine.' He was deeply disappointed when the Administration disavowed Hunter's act, for he had hoped much from the personal friendship which was known to exist between the General and the President. Soon followed the great reverses of McClellan before Richmond.

"The feelings of the Governor at this time on the subject of emancipation are well expressed in a speech which he made on Aug. 10, 1862, at the Methodist camp meeting on Martha's Vineyard. It was the same speech in which occurs his remark, since so often quoted:—  
" 'I know not what record of sin awaits me in the other world, but this I know, that I was never mean enough to despise any man because he was ignorant, or because he was poor, or because he was black.'

"Referring to slavery, he said:—



"I have never believed it to be possible that this controversy should end, and peace resume her sway, until that dreadful iniquity has been trodden beneath our feet. I believe it cannot, and I have noticed, my friends (although I am not superstitious, I believe), that, from the day our government turned its back on the proclamation of General Hunter, the blessing of God has been withdrawn from our arms. We were marching on, conquering and to conquer; post after post had fallen before our victorious arms; but since that day I have seen no such victories. But I have seen no discouragement. I bate not one jot of hope. I believe that God rules above, and that he will rule in the hearts of men, and that, either with our aid or against it, he has determined to let the people go. But the confidence I have in my own mind that *the appointed hour has nearly come* makes me feel all the more confidence in the certain and final triumph of our Union arms, because I do not believe that this great investment of Providence is to be wasted."

Governor Andrew was inaugurated Jan. 5, 1861. His final term as Governor expired Jan. 5, 1866. On that day he delivered to the two branches of the Legislature a valedictory address. Without asserting, with one of his biographers, that on this address, "more than on any other production of his pen, rests his claim to the fame of a great statesman," it must be admitted by all that it was worthy of the man and of the occasion. In logical acumen, in clearness of statement, in breadth of view, it is as remarkable as for moderation and firmness. He was able to rise above the plane of party spirit, above his own early and intense feelings on the subject of slavery, and to advocate doctrines as novel to his own friends as they were surprising to his enemies. The time has not yet come when this production can be fairly judged of, but there are few who will not recognize the wise and tolerant spirit of his utterance when he said:—

"I am satisfied that the mass of thinking men at the South accept the present condition of things in good faith; and I am also satisfied that, with the support of a firm policy from the President and Congress, in aid of the efforts of their good faith, and with the help of a conciliatory and generous disposition on the part of the North,—especially on the part of those States most identified with the plan of emancipation,—the measures needed for permanent and universal welfare can surely be obtained. There ought now to be a *vigorous prosecution of the peace*, just as vigorous as our recent prosecution of the war. We ought to extend our hands with cordial good-will to meet the proffered hands of the South; demanding no attitude of humiliation from any; inflicting no acts of humiliation upon any; respecting the feelings of the conquered, notwithstanding the question of right and wrong between the parties belligerent. We ought, by all the means and instrumentalities

of peace, and by all the thrifty methods of industry, by all the recreative agencies of education and religion, to help rebuild the waste places, and restore order, society, prosperity. Without industry and business there can be no progress. In their absence, civilized man even recedes towards barbarism. Let Massachusetts bear in mind the not unnatural suspicion which the past has engendered. I trust she is able, filled with emotions of boundless joy, and gratitude to Almighty God, who has given such victory and such honor to the right, to exercise faith in his goodness, without vain glory, and to exercise charity, without weakness, towards those who have held the attitude of her enemies."

The pecuniary means of Governor Andrew were always small. His practice had never been very lucrative, and his long public service effectually broke up the circle of his clients. On retiring from office, he determined to return to the bar, and declined various honorable and lucrative offices which were tendered to him. He soon entered upon a large practice, and was earning, at the time of his death, at the rate of thirty thousand dollars a year. One of the cases in which he was retained acquired such a prominence, and subjected him to such reproaches as to require some mention here. At the session of the General Court of Massachusetts, commencing in January, 1867, petitions were presented by upward of thirty thousand legal voters praying for the enactment of a judicious license law, and for the regulation and control of the sale of spirituous and fermented liquors in the Commonwealth. This petition was represented by Governor Andrew and by the venerable Linus Child, who called as witnesses a large number of respectable citizens from every profession and occupation. The hearing occupied more than a month, and excited great interest, partly because it was the first time the subject had received an examination so thorough, but mainly from the fact that there had never been so determined an assault on the prohibitory law, on principle, by men of marked character for ability and high standing.

Governor Andrew summed up the case in an elaborate argument, and attacked the doctrine of prohibitory legislation at the root. It is, he argued, only in the strife and controversy of life — natural, human, and free — that robust virtue can be obtained, or positive good accomplished. It is only in similar freedom, alike from bondage and pupilage, alike from the prohibitions of artificial legislation on the one hand, and superstitious fears on the other, that nations or peoples can become thrifty, happy, and great.

In reply to the position that spirits and wines are so allur-



ing that health and morals require teetotalism as the only safeguard; that while there is evidence by which many men, otherwise trustworthy, are convinced in favor of a certain temperate dietetic use by some people; yet, the moral dangers to the mass are such that teetotalism ought not only to be universally volunteered, but that it ought to receive the vindication of the statute-book and the moral support of the Legislature, he said:—

“The whole argument involves one of the oldest of human errors; so entirely human that it has no shadow of countenance from the religion of the New Testament. This world, in which while in the body we must abide, and this body, in which the spirit dwells, have been felt by many philosophers and moralists, both Christian and Heathen, to work a sad imprisonment of the celestial spirit. The immaculate purity of the spirit, soiled by any indulgence of the gross and material body, recedes from all human passion, and oftentimes from all intercourse with this tempting, dangerous, material world, to which alone, in the temptation of a simple fruit, hanging on one of the trees of Eden, is due our whole experience of woe and the awful mystery of evil. The Church has always been tolerant, the Church of Rome has sometimes been too indulgent, of this mysticism; while some of the Protestant sects, as well as of the societies in the Roman Church, have made it their vital principle. But it had its original expression in Oriental philosophy, not in Christianity, nor even in Judaism.”

This argument subjected him to great abuse and even vilification; but nothing he ever did afforded him greater satisfaction than his action in this matter. The State election, a week after his death, completely revolutionized the policy of the Commonwealth and vindicated his position, although it could not protect him from the slanderous attacks of malignant philanthropy, for a course which he conscientiously adopted, and which was sustained and approved by many of the ablest and best men in the community.

Mr. Andrew died suddenly, on the 30th of October, 1867, of apoplexy. On the previous day he had been engaged in court. After tea, some gentlemen called for a legal consultation. He suddenly complained of want of air in the room, and endeavored to open a window. He staggered, and was helped to the sofa, when he made earnest efforts to speak. A pencil was handed to him, which he vainly tried to use. He lingered in unconsciousness till the next evening at half-past six, when he died in the arms of his only brother, Isaac, who was in the act of raising him in bed, to assist his breathing. The body was laid in Mount Auburn, but was subse-

quently removed to the old burial-place in Hingham, where a fine statue has been erected over his grave.

The death of Governor Andrew produced a great sensation throughout the country, and was suitably noticed by numerous public meetings. The bar meeting in Boston was presided over by Henry W. Paine, and was addressed by Richard H. Dana, George S. Hillard, and others.\*

So many writers and speakers have undertaken to delineate his character that nothing new remains to be said. Mr. Parke Godwin, at a meeting in the city of New York, happily summed up his character in these few words: "Simple as a child in his manners; gentle as a woman in his affections; earnest as the enthusiast in his persuasions of truth; and steadfast as the martyr to his own interior faith; he was yet prudent, moderate, and wise, as the statesman, in his action." And Mr. William M. Evarts well expressed the feelings of those who knew the Governor most intimately: "We do not err at all when we say and feel that, up to the time of his death, to human observation, he had been preparing himself and gaining that opinion of mankind, that fame which after death is superior to power in life, which was to enable him to fill a greater, a wider, and a more useful part in the future of our country."

Of this remarkable man it may be truly said, that he was fortunate in the circumstances of his life and in those of his death. The son of parents of very different but extraordinary traits, his early training was under influences of the best kind, while there was never a jar in this happy family, which was a fair representative of the best in New England.

There was no lavish expenditure in the education of the oldest son; but he had every advantage that he desired, was

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\* The writer of this sketch has made free use in it of his own remarks on that occasion. Governor Andrew left at his death a moderate property, quite too small for the support of his family. On the morning after his death, William Gray, of Boston, called a meeting of gentlemen, and a paper was drawn up, providing for a fund to be held for the benefit of his sisters and family. The subscription amounted to \$86,566.66, and came from four hundred and twenty-five persons. The individual subscriptions to this fund were from ten cents to one thousand dollars. The trustees were William Gray, Nathaniel Thayer, and J. Ingersoll Bowditch. Mr. Gray resigned in 1876. In 1865, a committee was appointed to procure a statue of Edward Everett, and five hundred subscribers contributed to this fund \$33,000. After procuring a statue and a full-length portrait, a large sum remained. Of this, \$10,000 were appropriated for a statue of John A. Andrew, in marble, to be placed in the State House. Thomas Ball was selected as the artist, and the statue was unveiled Feb. 14, 1871.

always fairly well supplied with money, and never had to endure the mortifications and trials of those who are obliged to obtain the means for their own education. His disposition was so fine, his spirits so equal, his temperament so hopeful, and his general health so good, that the carking cares and petty trials and vexations which impede the course or make wretched the early life of many men, were never his portion. All this should be a consolation to those who study his history and regret their own deficiencies when compared with such an example. Governor Andrew was fortunate in living at a time when his peculiar talents could be used to such vast advantage in public affairs. It is a cheap and not uncommon criticism of successful public men, that at other times and under other circumstances they would have made no mark. But "there's a divinity that shapes our ends." In great emergencies the man finally appears who is fitted to take the lead, and, under Providence, conduct affairs to a successful result. To say that any remarkable character is fitted for a particular epoch is merely to admit, what all religious men believe, that there is a guiding Hand above and beyond all human transactions. There has also been much unprofitable discussion as to what constitutes a great man, and whether true greatness and goodness can be distinct. The dispute is a matter of definitions. But all must agree that a successful man in the ordinary meaning of the term may be neither great nor good.

Governor Andrew was successful beyond the lot of most men in the worldly understanding of the term, and he was at the same time a good man in the best and highest sense. And his great success was in kind and degree such as would not have been predicted until it came. He was not an orator, when judged by the highest standards, for he lacked the early culture which is essential to one who aspires to the noble distinction implied by that term. But he was an impressive and persuasive speaker of considerable power. He was not a polished writer, from the same defect; for his rhetoric was often faulty, and he had never had the highest training in this regard. But there was a charm about some of his productions that few men of culture could fail to appreciate. Nor was he a statesman in the sense that Chatham and Burke and Bolingbroke were statesmen. Nor a great lawyer in the sense that Webster and Pinkney and Marshall were great lawyers. He died at the age of Webster when he made the speech against Hayne in the Senate of the United States. It is more than probable that if Governor Andrew had lived

he would have taken rank among the highest in the profession.

And yet this man was a great instrumentality in the most important and grandest controversy that is recorded in history. With the civil war his name will always be identified. As the "great War Governor" he will always be known. In what then did his greatness consist? The answer is and always must be, "In his *character*." He was most emphatically what Milton calls a *square and constant mind*. He stands to-day the embodiment and representative of manliness, simplicity, truthfulness, justice,— of all the qualities which go to make up the spiritual substance of our being, which is all we can take with us when we leave this world, and which will never cease to influence those who may occupy the places we now occupy, and who may try to do the works that are set before us to do.

Mr. Andrew was married Christmas evening, December, 1848, to Miss Eliza Jane, daughter of Charles Hersey of Hingham. They had four children living at the time of his death,— John Forrester, born Nov. 26, 1850; Elizabeth Loring, born July 29, 1852; Edith, born April 5, 1854; Henry Hersey, born April 28, 1858. The family still occupy the home in Charles Street, Boston, where he died.

## MAY MEETING, 1880.

The stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 13th instant, at 3 o'clock P.M.; the President, Mr. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the Annual Meeting, which was approved.

The Librarian reported the accessions to the Library during the month. These included a curious "Plan for a Survey of a Canal from Boston to Connecticut River, . . . made under the direction of the Commissioners, by L. Baldwin, Engineer," 1826, in which is set down a proposal for a tunnel under the Hoosac Mountain; and a large and valuable volume, entitled "Memorials of London and London Life in the XIIIth, XIVth and XVth Centuries," selected from the archives of the city, and prepared by Mr. Henry T. Riley, by order of the corporation of London. This volume was the gift of Mr. Winthrop.

The Corresponding Secretary read letters from the Rev. Edward G. Porter and James M. Le Moine, Esq., accepting their election to membership in the Society.

The President then announced the death of a Corresponding Member, as follows:—

The Rev. Samuel Osgood, D.D., whose name has been on our Corresponding roll for more than twenty years, died at New York, on the 14th of April last. Born at Charlestown, Mass., on the 30th of August, 1812, and a graduate of Harvard University with the class of 1832, his early sympathies and associations were with New England, and his attachments to the scenes and friendships of his youth were strong to the last.

Prepared for the ministry at the Cambridge Divinity School, he was for more than thirty years a Unitarian preacher, four years at Nashua, N. H., seven years at Providence, R. I., and twenty years at the Church of the Messiah in New York. Connecting himself afterward with the Protestant Episcopal Church, and dividing his time between Fairfield, Conn., and the city of New York, in both of which he had residences, he officiated and preached wherever he was called to do so, but had no stated parish.

He was a man of large and varied accomplishments, a prolific writer, greatly interested in historical studies, and earnestly devoted to the illustration and promotion of every department of good learning. He has left many warm friends, here as well as in New York, to whom his sudden death gave a shock, and who do not fail to regret the loss of one whose acquirements and abilities were still in the way of being so valuable to his fellow-men.

The President stated next that he had received for the Library from Mr. Samuel Bradford of Philadelphia, a privately printed memoir of his father, an early marshal of the United States for the Massachusetts district, to which the author had added, at the request of many friends, an autobiographical sketch. The thanks of the Society were voted for this gift. Messrs. Williams & Everett of Boston had written that they had on sale a view of Boston in 1820, painted by Thomas Cole, which picture was thought a desirable acquisition for the Society's Cabinet. This matter was referred to the Committee on the Cabinet.

Mr. WINTHROP presented another gift, saying :—

I have received from Mrs. Laura Winthrop Johnson, of Staten Island, N. Y., a large number of autograph letters and papers, to be presented to this Society, in her name and those of her sister, Elizabeth Winthrop, and her brother, Colonel William Winthrop, of Washington. Mrs. Johnson and her sister and brother are children of my late cousin, Francis Bayard Winthrop of New Haven, a former Corresponding Member of this Society,—the father, also, of Theodore Winthrop, who was killed at Big Bethel at the beginning of the late Civil War. These letters and papers are the originals of the Winthrop Papers printed by Mr. Savage in the Appendix to his successive editions of the old Governor's Journal or History of New England. If I have counted them correctly, there are thirty-seven letters from the Governor to his eldest son, John Winthrop, of Connecticut; eighteen letters from the Governor to his wife, Margaret Tyndal; seven letters of Margaret to her husband; one letter of the Governor to his sister, Mrs. Thomas Fones; and one to his son Henry; two original wills of the Governor, and one business memorandum of his. There is, also, one little letter or note from the younger Winthrop to his wife. In all there are sixty-eight papers, bearing dates from 1620 to 1648. I may add that these letters were included, with many others in

my own possession, in my "Life and Letters of John Winthrop."

These venerable autographs, however, cannot fail to be regarded as interesting and valuable, and I am sure the Society will deposit them sacredly among the precious things in its archives. They would form a volume by themselves, if carefully arranged by an expert, and I venture to propose that they be referred to Judge Chamberlain and Mr. Waterston for that purpose.

On motion of Mr. DEANE, the thanks of the Society were voted to Mrs. Templeton Johnson, and to her sister and brother for this interesting and valuable collection of letters, and they were referred to Messrs. Chamberlain and Waterston (as suggested by the President), with Mr. Winthrop, as a Committee to examine and arrange them.

An invitation was received from the American Academy of Arts and Sciences asking the attendance of this Society, by delegates, at the one hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the Academy on the 26th of May. It was voted to accept the invitation, and the President was requested to appoint delegates to represent the Society.\*

Dr. Alfred Langdon Elwyn, of Philadelphia, was elected a Corresponding Member.

Mr. D. A. Goddard was appointed to write a memoir of the Hon. Erastus B. Bigelow; Mr. Deane to prepare one of the Hon. Richard Frothingham; and Dr. H. M. Dexter one of the Rev. George Punchard.

Announcement was made that Mr. William T. Davis had resigned his place as a Resident Member, and that Mr. James Parton, having taken up his residence in the Commonwealth, had thereby ceased to be a Corresponding Member, under the Society's rule.

Mr. DEANE, from the Committee on the Early Proceedings, presented the second volume of these Proceedings in print, completing the work. To the record of the Society's meetings the Committee had added memoirs of all Resident Members deceased prior to the Annual Meeting of April, 1855, at which time the current Proceedings begin, and had given, in a note, brief sketches of those members who either resigned their membership or lost it by removal from the State.

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\* The President appointed subsequently Messrs. Leverett Saltonstall, Charles C. Smith, and Samuel A. Green as delegates; and the two gentlemen last named were present as representatives of the Society at the celebration.—Eds.



On motion of Mr. WINSOR, it was

*Voted*, That the thanks of the Society be given to Mr. Deane and Mr. Smith for their valued services in the preparation of the Early Proceedings of the Society.

A serial number of the current Proceedings, completing a volume, was also laid upon the table, and the Committee, through its chairman, Mr. Dexter, stated that as soon as the index was prepared the volume would be issued and numbered xvii.; the filling of the gap by the publication of the second volume of the Early Proceedings having made it possible to designate the volumes by numbers, by which arrangement they could be conveniently cited.

Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR drew attention to the Society's copy of Price's view of Boston, dated 1743, and gave his reasons for believing that this view is from a revamped old plate, brought forward anew at that time to compliment Faneuil for the gift of his hall, the plate being dedicated by Price to that benefactor of the town. This 1743 plate has been generally considered, up to a year or two ago, the oldest known engraved view of Boston. The Public Library procured not many months ago a smaller view, measuring 18 by 12 inches, styled "Southeast View of the City of Boston, in North America; I. Carwithan, engraver, London; printed for Bowles and Carver, No. 69 St. Paul's Church Yard." Those who have carefully examined this view place it somewhat earlier than the Price-Faneuil view, as represented by the copies now known. A duplicate of this smaller view is owned by Mr. Henry H. Edes of Charlestown. Still another copy, with changes in the inscription, and with numbers attached to prominent buildings, belongs to a set of colored views, which were imported during the last century by Treasurer Storer, of Harvard College, for use in an instrument then in vogue, which represented such views under magnifying power. This set now belongs to Miss Eliza Susan Quincy, and the precise correspondence of the numbers in this smaller view with those of what seems to be the original series of figures in the Price-Faneuil (1743) view led Mr. Winsor to think that we have in this view a close transcript of the original condition of the larger plate. There is a second copy of the 1743 view in the Public Library, which formerly belonged to the Hon. Josiah Quincy, Jr., and it was from this last that the lithographic reduced *fac-simile* was made some years ago. A third copy, of much better condition than the other two, belongs to the



American Antiquarian Society. The recently published albertype reproduction is reduced from the lithographic *fac-simile* which omits some features of the original. Dr. Greenwood, in his History of the King's Chapel, mentions an engraved view, showing Boston as it appeared in 1720, but no such view bearing that date is now known. Fortunately the statement is accompanied by a vignette extract from this alleged 1720 view, showing old King's Chapel and Beacon Hill behind it. This small extract, by comparison, is shown to correspond with Price's view as we know it, even to the bad drawing of the buildings, but with two significant differences. Beacon Hill has shrubbery on it in the large print, and the Hancock house, erected in 1737, cuts the southerly line of Beacon-hill slope, and these are not in the vignette. This would show that the plate Greenwood copied from was of a condition anterior to 1737. Further, the principal buildings in the 1743 view are numbered, as before intimated, from Boston Neck to the North End in regular sequence from 1 to 49, with explanations in the margin. Now, scrutiny shows that no building erected after 1731 is included in this sequence of numbers with one significant exception, while buildings erected subsequent to 1731 are numbered in irregular order with figures higher than 50. This would indicate that the state of the plate, when the numbering was first put on, must be of an earlier date than 1731. The exception referred to is this: In the marginal description number 10 is "the South Meeting-house, built 1669," while number 10 in the picture shows the body of the old church which stood on that site, topped with the present steeple, erected in 1729, and not very neatly joined. The inference is that the engraver added the steeple to the older plate, which had the original meeting-house, and neglected to change the date "1669" in the margin to "1729," to correspond. In this regular sequence of numbers the new brick church and Christ Church come in their proper places, and as these buildings were erected respectively in 1721 and 1723, it would seem that the original condition of the plate must be later than these dates.

Mr. Winsor's deduction was this, — that the original plate of Price's view must have been executed between 1723 and 1729, and must represent the oldest known engraved view of Boston. He hoped a copy of the picture as originally engraved might be brought to light. In the mean while the smaller view, already referred to, must be held to represent it.

Mr. GEORGE B. CHASE communicated a diary kept by

Lieutenant-Colonel Eld, of the Coldstream Guards, during his service in America in the Revolutionary War, saying:—

Mr. President,—Toward the end of last summer, our colleague, the librarian of the Public Library, purchased for that institution a copy of Tarleton's "History of the War in the Southern States," which he had found under the general title "America," thus set forth in the July number of Sothe-ran's catalogue of second-hand books:—

"History of the Campaigns of 1780–81 in the Southern Provinces of North America, by Lt.-Col. Tarleton, Commandant of the British Legion. Large map, and 4 plates of battles. 4to, interleaved and bd. in 2 vols.: hf. calf. £1. 1s. 1787."

To this description was added in small type the words:—

"Contains additional information in MS. of some historical importance; evidently by an actor in the scenes described."

I have recently examined these volumes, and found that they agree, in one sense, literally with the bookseller's description of them. The manuscript gives no account of the war in the South; but it contains so interesting a contribution to the minor accounts by British officers of their service in the Colonies during our war for independence, that, brief as it is, I have caused it to be copied for publication in our Proceedings, if, as I venture to believe, my own opinion of it is confirmed by the favorable judgment of the Society.

The name of "Lt.-Col. Eld" at the top of the titlepage, and the manuscript itself are alike written in the same bold and beautiful hand. The watermark and quality of the interleaved sheets upon which the diary is written show that soon after Tarleton's book was published, this copy of it was sent to a binder, taken apart, divided into two volumes, interleaved and rebound, to enable the owner, who, as he himself says, wrote "only for the sake of reference and personal recollection," to copy into the work thus enlarged a record of his military service in America, from his arrival at New York, in the summer of 1779, till the incorporation of his regiment in the Southern army under command of Lord Cornwallis, in January, 1781. The diary stops short, however, with a brief entry under date March 26 (1780). Why Lieutenant-Colonel Eld abandoned the task at so early a date, unless by reason of his death in battle, cannot now be determined.

Of the author of this manuscript I have found in the ordinary sources of information but slight mention. Although it is stated in the "Gentleman's Magazine" that he was born

in America, it is probable that he was related to the only county family of the name, the Elds of Seighford Hall, in Staffordshire. Burke, however, makes no mention of him in the brief genealogy of that family given in the "Landed Gentry." According to the roll of the Coldstream Guards as given in Colonel Mackinnon's history of that regiment, George Eld was appointed an "ensign, 30 March, 1776; lieutenant, 5 May, 1780; captain, 16 December, 1789; surrendered prisoner of war at Yorktown, 19 October, 1781; embarked for England, October, 1782."

Colonel Eld, it is thus seen, had been three years in the Guards, when, an ensign, he accompanied his regiment to America, and began his notes for the diary he was never to complete. During the remainder of the war he served both in the Northern and Southern States. On the 3d of February, 1780, he was in the attack on Young's House, at White Plains, and again on the 23d of March (as he has the date), in the unsuccessful expedition against the American post at Paramus, in the Jerseys. Of both these actions Colonel Eld gives in his diary interesting accounts. In the following November, soon after the Guards, under the command of Major-General the Honorable Alexander Leslie, had been sent to Virginia, Colonel Mackinnon relates that "a detachment under the Honorable Lieutenant-Colonel Steuart and Captain Maitland of the First Guards, also Captain Schutz and Eld of the Coldstream, were engaged with a party of Continentals and militia at the Great Bridge," and defeated them, taking four pieces of cannon. The Guards were soon re-embarked after this success, and on the 13th of December were landed at Charleston. Ordered at once to join the forces under Lord Cornwallis, they overtook his troops on the 18th of January, 1781. When the British army crossed the Catawba on the 1st of February, Captain Eld escaped unhurt, although the light infantry of the Guards to which he belonged, who were the first to enter the water, suffered severely while crossing, from the fire of a small body of militia under General Davidson, who gallantly held his ground, till, surrounded by the enemy, he was killed.\* The same good fortune preserved Captain Eld on the 15th of March in the hard-fought battle which followed Lord Cornwallis's attack on General Greene's army at Guildford Court House. In this stubborn contest, where the British army were so weakened by their loss, that, although able to hold their ground on the night

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\* See Lamb's Journal, pp. 343-345.

after the battle, they were forced on the next day to retreat toward the coast "for rest and refitment," the Guards lost heavily in officers and men. The war was soon afterward transferred to Virginia, where, a few months later, the British army was hemmed in at Yorktown and compelled to surrender.

Colonel Eld arrived in England in the beginning of 1783. For ten years the care and pleasure of London life compensated him for the hardships and captivity he had undergone in America.

When, in January, 1793, England joined the other great powers in declaring war against France, the first battalions of the three regiments of the Guards received orders to prepare for active service. Their companies were at once filled up and made complete. On the 25th of February, after inspection by the king himself, the Guards were marched to Greenwich, where, in the presence of the royal family, who had come down to witness their departure, they embarked for Flanders. Joining the Prussian and Austrian forces at Maulde, the Guards, who formed part of the Duke of York's army, lost heavily, on the 8th of May, in the attack upon General Dampierre's forces near Tournay. Valenciennes was captured by the British on the 28th of July; on the 29th, Colonel Eld, who had been sent to London a few weeks before on special duty, rejoined his regiment in command of a light infantry company, which, after the departure of the Guards for the Continent, had been raised in England, under a royal warrant, dated April 19, 1793. On the 14th of August the British army separated from the allied forces near Cambray, and marched toward Dunkirk, in the vain attempt to besiege that fortress, and, by its capture, to restore it once more to the crown of England. Passing through Ypres on the 20th, the troops encamped on the evening of the next day, near Furnes, the westernmost town of Flanders, close to the French frontier. On the retreat of the French outposts toward Dunkirk on the 22d the British forces occupied the ground it was intended to hold during the siege.

Two days later, in a general attack on the outposts, the light infantry battalion to which Colonel Eld was attached, forcing their way through thick hedges and deep ditches, between the canal of Furnes and the sea, drove the enemy at last into the town. But, when the fight was over, Lieutenant-Colonel Eld, who had fallen gallantly leading on his command, lay dead upon the field. His body was carefully taken up and carried back to camp, and on the 26th of August, 1793, was buried

in the presence of the Duke of York and of many officers of the army with full military honors.

In the "Gentleman's Magazine" for September, 1793, there appeared the following obituary of Colonel Eld:—

"August 24. Unhappily slain in an attack upon the French outposts between the canal of Furnes and the sea, Colonel Eld, of the Coldstream Regiment of Footguards, and Lieutenant-General Count Edward d'Alton, in the Austrian service. The former (a brave and experienced officer) went to Holland with the first detachment of guards that left this country, but was in town again, for a few days, about six weeks since, and was presented to his Majesty upon receiving a commission in the light infantry brigade. He was born in America, but received his education in England. His fortune descended to him from his uncle, the late Mr. Eld, who was well known in this country. Colonel Eld was interred on the 26th with great pomp, the Duke of York, the light infantry of the guards, and many of the officers attending."

It may be that among Colonel Eld's letters, if they are still preserved by any of his race, additional information may hereafter be found and made known. But, from the little that is known of him, we may be sure that he was a gallant gentleman, brave and deserving, whose short life reflected honor upon the land of his birth, and the distinguished corps to which he belonged.

Mr. CHASE then read extracts from the diary which is here printed.

It should be observed, that Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, on the appointment of the Right Honorable the Earl of Cornwallis to the command in the East Indies, had applied to that nobleman for permission to accompany him. Lord Cornwallis's refusal to such request, if it did not positively produce the history of the campaigns of '80 and '81, influenced the work to establish conclusions and censures, but too frequently unjust, because decided from events without fairly bringing forward the local circumstances, and partial situations that were productive of such events and perhaps swerved the wisdom of the moment. To exemplify this; Colonel Tarleton, with more ingenuity than is absolutely necessary to the character of a brave and liberal soldier, negatively implies that the conduct of the Earl Cornwallis was exceedingly injudicious when, speaking of the battle of Guildford, he says, "The reasons which now induced General Greene not to decline a general engagement equally indicated his wisdom and professional knowledge. A defeat of the British would have been attended with the *total destruction* of Earl Cornwallis's infantry, whilst

a victory at this juncture could produce no very decisive consequences against the Americans."

Under impressions of this description, no reader can deny that the conduct of Earl Cornwallis appears highly reprehensible to hazard the total destruction of his army, when no material advantage could be gained; it is true, that these observations made by Colonel Tarleton are introduced as a compliment to the discernment of General Greene, yet the concealed censure, intended for the Earl, is but too artificially covered, not to be obvious to the eye of the most inattentive reader.

Earl Cornwallis was so far advanced in the country that he had no alternative; he had either to pursue or be pursued. To retreat before a superior army is equally as hazardous and perhaps more destructive than a general engagement, nor was it possible to follow an army, one day's march in advance only, where forage and provisions were to be obtained but by skirmishing; it should also be ever remembered that delay would have added fresh vigor to General Greene's army, that each day would have poured in recruits to the American arms, whilst the British forces must have experienced a fatal decrease; and, thus circumstanced, Earl Cornwallis would have had not the most distant hopes of success, but would have experienced all the calamities of destruction and conquest that were avoided by his timely and well-judged conflict at Guildford. This allowed, the conduct of General Greene will not appear to merit the high encomium that Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton has so unnecessarily given to him, for in the short space of fourteen days the above suppositions would have been realized.

I have dwelt thus long upon this, to show how easy it is to misrepresent under the semblance of truth and candor.

During the time that General Sir Henry Clinton was besieging Charlestown, General Knyphausen had the command of the British forces at New York.

The Guards and other detachments amounting to 2,500 joined Lord Cornwallis Jan. 20, 1781, in South Carolina, to which period I shall endeavor to recollect such events as more immediately concerned myself, without endeavoring to give a general history of the campaigns to the northward, as I write only for the sake of reference and personal recollection.

May 1, 1779. Set sail for America, in the "Grand Duke" (formerly an East India ship), arrived off Sandy Hook, August 23, and landed in the city of New York 25th.

No unusual events attended this voyage: a storm which took away the foremast, the ship ran foul of the "Romulus" (74 guns), that took away the quarter galley, and three gales of wind and a water-spout.

On my arrival at New York, I was appointed to the light infantry company of the Guards, although an ensign, and in January, 1780, for two months had the command of that company, &c. Quartered in the city of New York.

Oct. 23. A skirmish in the Jerseys; destroyed some boats; lost six or seven of the light company, &c.



26th. Marched from New York to the lines, King's Bridge. Encamped.

Oct. 27. The weather very cold and rainy. On duty at an advanced redoubt; the rebel light horse appeared. I was ordered out with fifty light infantry; after a few shots fired and received, the light horse retreated.

Nov. 14. Deep and heavy snows. The light infantry company guards, commanded by Colonel Watson, with intentions to intercept a party of rebel light horse and infantry, marched from the lines at nine o'clock at night; being fired at near Delancey's Mills, I was detached, and soon learned that the shots came from friendly refugees who joined the detachment. Remained on the ground two hours, and then proceeded, being reinforced with fifty of Demur's light horse, to East Chester; remained three hours in ambuscade on our arms till the day dawned, when, being discovered by the advance guard of the enemy, fired into the midst of them; several were wounded, but being mounted made their escape; nine were killed and two made prisoners; two or three wounded on our side; pursued the main body unsuccessfully; returned to King's Bridge, after having marched twenty-nine miles through deep snows, &c.

Nov. 20. Distant shots at the rebel light horse.

Dec. 2. A most violent storm of wind and rain, with snow; most of the tents blown down. Exchanged a few shots on an out parole.

Dec. 20. Hard frost; the soldiers huddled. My hut not finished. A party of rebels attacked and plundered the inhabitants of Morrisania and the West Farms; the light infantry of the Guards with Demur's horse were detached to pursue, and overtook them, taking eight prisoners, killing five, twenty-five horses, and recovered the plunder, &c. We had three wounded. On our return met a patrol of Colonel White's light horse; fired at the party; they fled precipitately.

Dec. 26. The frost intense; attempted unsuccessfully to take a rebel whale-boat, which was entangled in the ice of the North River.

Dec. 27. Huddled. The weather pleasant and healthy; the mornings clear and cold, the serenity of the sky beautiful, the midday pleasant, but the evening dreadfully cold.

Jan. 1, 1780. Appointed to the command of the light infantry company.

6th. Snow-storms.

16th. Two o'clock in the morning, the house of Colonel Hetfield beyond the lines at Morrisania was fired by a detachment of rebels, who, after having made the colonel prisoner, and maliciously committed some pitiful depredations, retreated. The two light infantry companies of the Guards, with the mounted refugees, were ordered out under the command of Colonel Hall. After a march of twenty-five miles fell in with their rear guard; a trifling but general contest ensued: nine rebels were killed, sixteen taken prisoners, many wounded. The rebels now appeared to the number of eight hundred, when on our taking an advantageous situation, they retired. We returned twelve

miles, and remained the night in some log houses, and returned to the lines on being joined by a detachment sent out to cover our retreat.\*

Jan. 18. The river frozen.

21st. Rode to New York. At twelve at night, entering the coffee-house, I was accosted by Lieutenant Callender of the 42d regiment (with whom I had no acquaintance), who insolently asked me if I would drink some punch. I declined the offer. On this he observed, "*Ubi periculum est, ibi est gloria*," and asked me if I wanted a translation. I told him no, but requested an explanation. On that he drew a small sword; I also drew mine, which was a very short cut-throat. He perceived the superiority he possessed from the difference of the weapons, which seemed to stimulate his cowardice to the attack, which he began by two lunges, which having parried, with all the fury and vigor I possessed, I returned by cutting at him, without paying any attention to a guard; he retreated the length of the coffee-house. I had now beat the point of his sword down, and intended to have killed him, but was prevented by Captain Peirce, who seized hold of my wrist and arrested the stroke. I told him his interference was unmanly and ungentlemanlike, as the contest was not finished. By this time some officers had taken Captain Callender's sword from him. I declared if any person presumed to touch my sword, I would run him through the body. Captains Peirce and Callender next morning asked my pardon. I afterwards was informed that Captain C., being an uncommon good swordsman, often insulted strangers in a similar manner. The disgrace he experienced from the contest in some measure cured him.

Jan. 22. Returned to King's Bridge. On an out-picket under the command of Colonel Norton.

23d. On the alert. The river being passably frozen, an attack on the lines from Washington was apprehended.

25th. Severe weather.

27th. On duty at the advanced redoubt, Prince Charles. The night cold and dark; ordered to return, the work being deemed too unsafe.

28th. The officers (Ensign Goodrich and myself) of the 2d Light Infantry never undress, nor the soldiers, the river being frozen.

Jan. 30. The North River opposite King's Bridge frozen over, a circumstance not remembered by the oldest inhabitant of this island. Since Sir Henry Clinton's detachment sailed from New York, the effective forces that remain to guard the island are in number less than 13,000.

Feb. 3. The light infantry and grenadiers of the Guards (480) under the command of Colonel Norton, were ordered on a party to surprise a rebel post named Young's House. The snow having fallen with much continuance and severity, sleighs were provided to convey the soldiers to the post; these conveyances were immediately quitted, for the cold was too intense to remain inactive, nor was it possible for the horses to get through the snow; the horses, sleighs, and a three-

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\* See Thacher's Journal, p. 185. — Eds.



pounder for these reasons were left within the lines at King's Bridge. At half-past ten o'clock the detachment marched; the night was dark; to prevent discovery, the high road was avoided, and by eleven the next day, after a march of twenty-six miles, through unfrequented paths and untouched snow, the rebel post was completely surrounded. The house was stone, strongly and advantageously situated; some slight defences were formed in front of the post, which consisted of two hundred and sixty selected Continentals, who, having intelligence of our approach, were judiciously disposed to annoy or prevent the attack. After a spirited and brisk conflict of firing, during which time our detachment formed more collectedly than at the first advance was possible to effect, from the depth of the snow, the light infantry horn sounded the charge; the rebels retreated within the house, which was soon stormed by the grenadiers, and now a short but destructive contest ensued. The house was fired, and many of the enemy who had retreated for security to the cellars were crushed in the burning ruins. Sixty of the enemy effected their escape, seventy were made prisoners, and the remainder killed or so badly wounded as to be left on the ground. Two officers were killed; nine taken prisoners. On our part the loss was trifling: sixteen killed, thirty slightly wounded. Colonel Norton slightly wounded and two officers. The detachment now returned and entered the lines at ten o'clock the next night, *without once halting*.\*

Feb. 4. Early in the morning ordered with thirty light infantry to march the prisoners to New York. Returned next day.

March 23. At six in the evening a detachment of six hundred, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Howard, marched to Spithim [Spuyten] Devil Creek, from whence at about ten they embarked on flat-bottomed boats, and landed at half-past twelve at Kloster Lock, in the Jerseys. Having marched till seven in the morning, I was sent forward with sixty light infantry to attack a rebel picquet, on the right of the main body of the rebels, who were advantageously posted and fortified in a churchyard at a place called Paramus. The picquet was placed at the edge of a wood, with a plain of half a mile in the rear. I surprised the picquet, who instantly fled, and the most famous chase over the plain ensued. We were in at the death of seven. I had given orders that my party should not fire, but use their bayonets; notwithstanding, the main body, being apprised of Colonel Howard's attack, fled into the woods. I fired at an officer who was mounted, who, to save himself, cast away his saddle-bags, which contained above \$27,000 paper currency, orders, letters, &c. The dollars (reserving a few thousand for myself) I sold for a farthing each, and distributed to the men. After a tiresome pursuit, I rejoined Colonel H., who immediately retreated. On our return, which was by a different route, we were joined by a detach-

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\* There is an account of the attack on Young's house in Stedman's "American War," vol. ii. pp. 235-238; and another in the diary of young George Mathew, the nephew and *aide-de-camp* of General Mathew, published in the "Historical Magazine," vol. i. p. 103. Both narratives give the date of the expedition as February 2. — Eds.

ment of the 42d regiment and Hessians, and 43d. The rebels now collected and began to harass our rear. I had the command of the rear guard; Captain Dundass flanked. The road in which we marched was wide and walled on each side; the road being a continuation of sudden hills. The main body was little annoyed, and afforded me an opportunity of disputing each height; the rebels made three charges, and each time were repulsed; their loss was as ten to one. Colonel Howard's retreat was so precipitate that he never once detached a party to my support. Fortunately for me, the rebels now changed their attack to the left of our line of march; they now flanked from behind trees, and with the greatest security,—the road on that side being open and a narrow and impassable swamp immediately adjoining it. Thus we retreated, annoyed by a constant fire, with great loss, which produced general confusion, Colonel Howard neglecting to give any orders till we arrived at a bridge. So great was Howard's confusion that, as the rear guard was crossing the bridge, he was threatening the trembling owner of the adjacent house with death and destruction if he did not take up the planks of the bridge; as this was impossible, our army not choosing to make the attempt, and the owner of the house from inclination not intending to do it, I volunteered the duty and promised Colonel Howard to destroy the bridge. I never professed myself a volunteer for any duty, but on this occasion I had two reasons for my conduct.

The first reason arose from my having perceived that the enemy were bringing cannon and horse, the whole weight of which must have been sustained by the rear guard; the other was vanity,—the vanity of attempting that danger which a whole army had avoided. I now called the light infantry, which composed the rear guard, to assist me; but so great was the panic, *that only* FOUR remained. Captain Dundass, hearing my voice, joined me, as did Captains Anstruther and Dennis, with one private of the 43d, and two privates of the 42d regiment. The Hessian detachment, perceiving our intentions, formed on a small rise and covered our attempt. Under a very heavy fire, we effected our design, by dislodging the planks, which effectually prevented the horse and field-pieces from following our line of march. As this was done in the full view of the whole army, my vanity once more got ascendancy over my reason, inducing me to remain the last on the bridge. In our retreating from the bridge, three of the light infantry were killed, one of the 42d and 43d. Captain A. was wounded; Lieutenant Dennis slightly; Dundass and myself escaped. For having thus destroyed the bridge, which rendered the rest of the retreat safe and easy, Captain Dundass and myself received in public orders the thanks of General Mathew, the commanding officer at King's Bridge, as also General Knyphausen's thanks, commander-in-chief at New York. We now (March 24, five o'clock, evening) recrossed the North River, after a march of forty miles through the enemy's country. We took one captain and one hundred privates; our loss must have been nearly three hundred.

March 25. Commanded twenty light infantry and twenty grenadiers in pursuit of some rebels; took two; the rest fled.

March 26. Got permission to visit New York and to perform at the theatre.

Mr. WILLIAM EVERETT spoke in substance as follows:—

I desire, sir, to call the attention of the members to a scheme which is assuming somewhat serious proportions; in which, if it is really judicious, the Historical Society ought to help; against which, if it is otherwise, it is our duty to protest. I mean the scheme for erecting a monument to some person called the first discoverer of New England; not, however, John Cabot, or Sebastian Cabot, or Verrazzano, but an indefinite Northman, to whom, if I may be allowed a very bad pun, it is proposed to put up a *Leif* statue.

This scheme is espoused by several of our citizens, who, it is hardly unfair to say, are more enthusiastic than critical; largely stimulated by the patriotic fervor of a Norwegian gentleman living among us, most eminent for genius of a peculiar order, but hardly an authority on matters of history. We all have heard a great deal, sir, of the Northmen who perhaps discovered New England, or something else, in the year 1000. Our books are filled with the same story, over and over again, of Biorn and Thorwald, and Helluland and Markland and Vinland, and Krossaness and Kjalarness, and Snorro Sturleson and Peringskiold; but it is perhaps not so well known how very shadowy and vague are all these accounts. Dr. Palfrey has put the story excellently in his second chapter. It is purely romantic, interpolated in the *Heimskringla*, which is most commonly given as the authority, promulgated originally by the fervid zeal of Professor Rafn, and discredited (as I am informed by Professor Haynes) by the best modern antiquaries of Denmark; it appears nowhere recorded till more than two centuries after the supposed date; and the indications which identify Vinland and New England melt away to nothing. Dighton Rock and the tower at Newport are quoted only to be laughed at; and the famous latitude indication, the *eykterstadi* and *dagmalastadi*, is like saying that daylight in Vinland lasts from breakfast-time till into the afternoon!

As Mr. Dexter reminded us last month, when Professor Rafn first published the "*Antiquitates Americanae*," in 1837, everybody was swept away by the tide of "the new discovery." Columbus and the Zeni were nowhere; and the Scandinavian gentleman to whom I have alluded avows that he

considers the erection of a statue to Eric only an act of justice to the real discoverer of the North American continent, whose honor is usurped by the Genoese. But the very exaggeration with which the Danish antiquaries pressed the matter has led historical scholars to sift the evidence, and he must be indeed passionately fond of pretty stories who is really prepared to assert that we know that settlers from Iceland passed a winter in New England, as we know that settlers from England colonized Roanoke. It is absurd, while Cabot and Virginia Dare stand uncommemorated, to erect a statue with any thing resembling an historical motive to Leif or Eric or Thorwald.

I should very possibly be told, sir, if one member were present who is much interested in the project, that Governor Everett was interested in this subject in 1837; that he delivered an address suggesting this very monument, and that he wrote the Lament of Thorwald. I am aware of it, sir. I am very familiar with his article in the "North American Review," in which, with his own sly humor, which I suspect Professor Rafn was perfectly incapable of comprehending, he points out a dozen weaknesses and indeed absurdities in the attempt to give Vinland a definite existence. When he was endeavoring to stir the sluggish martinets of Copenhagen into giving Miss Maria Mitchell the king's gold medal for her comet discovered at Nantucket, almost in despair at making them enter into the subject as he desired, he raked up Vinland as a possible equivalent for Nantucket; but I have heard him repeatedly declare his conviction in later years that the whole attempt to fix the "discoveries" of Biorn and his successors to New England, and in any way to destroy the irrefragable glories of Columbus and Cabot, was of the most moonshiny character, and he expressed the heartiest satisfaction with Dr. Palfrey's exploding of the "old mill" theory.

I venture to propose, sir, to the Council, to consider if some proper statement should not be submitted to the public of the entirely unhistorical character of the events which it is proposed to commemorate in a form that ought to be reserved for real men, who did something for New England.

Mr. DEANE said:—

Mr. President,—I wish to say that I sympathize with brother Everett in what he has said as to the shadowy nature of the evidence concerning the alleged visits of the Northmen to the shores of Massachusetts or New England. When I

first critically examined the foundation of the stories, and read the narratives themselves in the shape in which they have come down to us, I was deeply impressed with their unhistorical character. The narratives, if they can be called such, are mere traditions, orally repeated from generation to generation, and not committed to writing till two centuries or more after the events they pretend to relate took place. Indeed, the earliest manuscripts extant are some four centuries later.

I do not forget that sagas were originally the foundation of most of the early history of the northern nations, and, indeed, of older states, and that scholars like Humboldt, Wheaton, Rafn, Beamish, and Laing, accept them as a basis on which to construct something like a history. Certainly, the judgment of an early well-known writer like the author of the "*Heimskringla*,"—Snorro Sturleson,—who embodied in his work the knowledge and traditions of his day, may well be accepted as embracing much that is trustworthy. He has a brief allusion to the discovery of Vinland, but the most authentic manuscripts of this author do not contain the full narrative as published by Peringskiöld in 1697. The sagas of Eric the Red, and others, which are the principal authorities for the visits of Leif and his successors to these shores are of unknown authorship; that is to say, we know not by whom nor at what time they were originally composed, nor when they were committed to writing.

It might perhaps be over-bold to contend that these half-poetical recitations of a story-teller are fictions, like the poems of Ossian; yet to elevate them to the dignity of historical relations in all their details, and to place implicit reliance on the data given as to time and place, seem to me unwarrantable. They are shadowy and mythical in form, and often uncertain in meaning.

I may add that Mr. Samuel Laing, the learned editor of the "*Sea Kings of Norway*," who accepts the general fact as to the discovery of America by the Northmen, thinks that no reliance can be placed on the theory of Professor Rafn that Vinland was anywhere in New England, and that his interpretation of the passage by which the length of the day is determined is exceedingly doubtful. He favors the opinion of Torfæus that a proper interpretation of the language would indicate the latitude of Newfoundland or the St. Lawrence.

The sentiment of the meeting appeared to be decidedly in favor of the views expressed by these members.

Mr. DEANE communicated, in behalf of the Rev. B. F. DeCosta, of New York, a copy of a manuscript relating to the Sagadahoc Colony of 1607-8, which Mr. DeCosta had procured from the original in the Lambeth Palace Library in London, and which was the same used by Strachey in an abridged form, in his "*Historie of Travaile*" published by the Hakluyt Society of London. Mr. DeCosta had prepared a preface and notes to the narrative, and Mr. Deane submitted the whole to the Society for publication in their Proceedings, if it should prove acceptable.

The papers were referred to the Committee on the Proceedings, with the understanding that Mr. Deane would give them the benefit of his advice in carrying the work through the press.

#### THE SAGADAHOC COLONY.

##### PREFACE.

In the year 1849 the Hakluyt Society published Strachey's work, entitled "*The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia*," edited by R. H. Major, Esq. Chapters VIII., IX., and X. contained an account of the Popham Colony, planted in the year 1607, at the mouth of the Kennebec River. Prior to the appearance of that work, but few of the details respecting the colony were known. In 1852 the portion of Strachey's "*Historie*" which included the story of the colony was reprinted, with additional notes, in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society (4th ser. vol. i. p. 219). The following year four chapters of the same part of the "*Historie*" were printed with new notes in the Collections of the Maine Historical Society (vol. iii. p. 286). In 1862 the Maine Society held a celebration on the site of the ancient colony, publishing the proceedings, during the following year, in a "*Memorial Volume*." Subsequently, certain features of the undertaking were discussed by several writers in the Boston daily press. In 1866 a number of the articles thus given to the public were reprinted, and a bibliography of the subject was added. No essentially new facts, however, were laid before the public.

This manuscript was found by the writer in the summer of 1875, while engaged in a careful search for historical material. It is now given to the public entire for the first time. By a comparison of the narrative with Strachey's, it will be seen that the manuscript, or at least a tolerable copy, must have passed through his hands, forming indeed the principal source of his knowledge respecting the Popham Colony. Portions of the manuscript were copied by him almost verbatim, though other portions were either epitomized or omitted.

Upon the titlepage of the manuscript, subsequently prefixed to it, the author's name is wanting, but we incline to the opinion, upon the evidence given below, that it was written by James Davies, one of the Council of the colony. The account partially covers the voyage of two



ships, the "Gift of God" and the "Mary and John," to the Kennebec in 1607, together with a relation of many events which immediately followed. Unfortunately, the closing portion of the manuscript has disappeared. This mutilation must have occurred since Strachey wrote, as a continuation of the narrative is found in that writer's "Historie." Concerning Strachey himself, comparatively little is known, though he was Secretary to the Virginia Colony in 1609-10. Besides his work on the "Laws of Virginia," published at Oxford, in 1612, he wrote the very interesting account, in Purchas, of the shipwreck of Gates at Bermuda, and narrated subsequent events in Virginia. Of his "Historie of Travaile," he left two copies in manuscript, both referred to by Mr. Major, one of which is preserved in the British Museum, and the other in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The latter copy lacks the intercalated sketches made on the coast of Maine. From the Oxford manuscript we have drawn the portion corresponding with the lost pages of the narrative, which forms the conclusion of Strachey's "Historie," at pp. 176-180 of the printed volume.

This interesting narrative of "A Voyage unto New England" is now preserved among the treasures of Lambeth Palace Library, London, bound up in the middle of a quarto volume of manuscripts that bear no special relation to the subject of the voyage. The manuscript, however, may be traced very easily in the catalogue. It is numbered 806. The writer was very agreeably surprised one day, when, in the course of searching for material, he came upon the narrative. Application was at once made for permission to copy it for publication, the request being very kindly granted by Dr. Tait, the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose authorization is essential before works of this kind can be thus used. A sort of titlepage has been prefixed to the manuscript, in an early hand, by a former possessor, reciting that it was found among the papers of Sir Ferdinando Gorges by one William Griffith. Gorges died in 1647, and we can hardly suppose that his papers would have been subject to overhauling before that event took place.

The manuscript was difficult to decipher, owing to the peculiarity of the chirography, but there is every reason to suppose that the work has been performed faithfully, as it was done by a copyist selected by the obliging Librarian, Mr. S. W. Kershaw.

As to the authorship of the narrative, Strachey, in his "Historie" (p. 165) relates that, on a certain occasion "The pilot, Captain R. Davies, with twelve others, rowed into the bay," &c. In our manuscript, however, which Strachey used, the author at this place says, "Myself was with 12 others," &c. This shows that the name, "Captain R. Davies," was here inserted by Strachey, on his supposition that Robert Davies was the author of the narrative, and was here describing these incidents. Yet Purchas (vol. v. p. 830), who had this manuscript, and quotes briefly from it, as well as from those of other Sagadahoc colonists, places the name of "James Davies" in the margin, as the author of it. Here is apparently conflicting evidence.

Again, the writer of the narrative frequently speaks of himself, as he did in the above instance, in the first person, as "myself," and we might fairly infer that he adhered to this method. Under the date of September 5, in describing another incident, he introduces the names of "Captain Gilbert, James Davies, and Captain Best," which would seem to show that "James Davies," one of the persons named, was not "myself," the author. It should be added, that the writer, while giving their titles to Gilbert and Best, simply gives the name "James Davies" without any title, as one writing his own name might do.

Robert Davies and James Davies are both spoken of by Strachey and by Smith as "Captains," and as members of the colonial Council; and, so far as we know of the relative character and position of the two men, and we know but little, one would be as likely to have written the narrative as the other. If we had full evidence that Robert Davies was the author, we should not be surprised to find no detailed account of the colony by him during the winter, or during the period of his absence from Sagadahoc, — namely, from the 15th of December, when he re-embarked in the "Mary and John," as its commander, for England, till his return in the following spring, with fresh supplies, when all the remaining colonists went back to England. The brief account we have in the concluding part of the narrative, as shown by what Strachey has preserved, might well have been gathered up by Captain Robert Davies on his return to the colony, in 1608, and added to the previous account.

Of course it will be understood that Strachey did not derive from our narrative the statement, on page 178 of his "Historie," that Captain Robert Davies was despatched away to England in the "Mary and John," "soon after their first arrival." The colony arrived in the early part of August, and the "Mary and John" sailed for home December 15 following, more than four months after their arrival, bearing the letter of Captain Popham to the king.

Whoever the author may have been, it would appear, from his own account, at least, that he was a man of some importance; for as the "Mary and John," on the voyage hither, was approaching Gratiotia, he opposed the opinion of the master and his mates, who thought the island was Flores: "Myself withstood them and reproved them." Possibly the "master" of the "Mary and John" on her voyage hither was Robert Davies, whom Strachey calls "the pilot," the commander or captain being Raleigh Gilbert. The opinion of Purchas, that James Davies was the author of our manuscript, is entitled to great weight, and should perhaps control the evidence.

Strachey must have known both these persons, subsequently, in the southern colony of Virginia. One of the vessels which accompanied the fleet hither in 1609, on which voyage Gates and Somers were wrecked at Bermuda, was the "Virginia," which was built in the North Colony, in which "Captain Davies" and "Master Davies" were the chief officers. Surely these can be no other than our Sagadahoc acquaintances. Strachey embarked in the "Sea-Adventure," with Gates and Somers. We find "Captain James Davies" mentioned



in a letter of Strachey, written from Virginia in the following year, as commander of "Algernoone Fort," upon Point Comfort.\*

Concerning the value of the manuscript in Lambeth Palace Library there can be no question; and it shows very distinctly that Strachey had good authority for the principal part of his narrative relating to the Sagadahoc Colony. He used other authorities also, perhaps one or more of those cited by Purchas in his brief abstract before mentioned. Strachey's whole book, "*Historie of Travaile*," which embraces an account of the Southern Colony as well, is a compilation, though he probably drew somewhat upon his own experience in his narrative of the latter.

Strachey made some blunders in his summary of our manuscript, but his errors were certainly unintentional. He used the work of Davies without credit, as he did the journals of Gosnold, Pring, and Rosier, but this was in accordance with the custom of the time.

This manuscript we now print is also of value, for the reason that it gives new facts of considerable interest, and leads to a better understanding of the enterprise.

In giving this narrative to the press, it has been thought best to modernize the orthography in those instances where it differed from that of our own day, inasmuch as it often represented the spelling of no particular period. Proper names have been allowed to stand as written.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, voyagers to the New England coast were still indulging in golden dreams, while at the same time searching for a short passage to the Indies in a region where the breadth of an entire continent barred the way. In the order of Providence, however, these shores were destined to become the field of a nobler quest; and, among scenes hitherto frequented only by maritime adventurers, English colonists were destined to find a home, and lay the foundations of a prosperous commonwealth. The attempt to establish the colony at Sagadahoc pointed to this conclusion.

The first known voyage to New England in the seventeenth century was that of Gosnold, who named Cape Cod, and spent some weeks at Cuttyhunk, on the southern coast of Massachusetts.† In 1603 Martin Pring, with two vessels, lay for several weeks in Plymouth Harbor.‡

On Easter Sunday, May 15, 1605, Captain Waymouth sailed from Dartmouth, England, with intentions that have never been sufficiently explained, sighting land in latitude  $41^{\circ} 20' N$ . The coast of Cape Cod appearing dangerous, and having a head wind, he did not attempt the southern course. He was also in need of wood and water, and, moreover, being of an irresolute disposition, he concluded to sail with the wind. As the result, on the 18th he found the island now known

\* Purchas, vol. iv. pp. 1733, 1748; Neill, *Virginia Company of London*, pp. 29, 37, 49.

† *Historical and Genealogical Register*, for Jan. 1878, p. 76.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 79.

as Monhegan, under which he anchored, hoping that it would prove the "most fortunate ever discovered." Afterward he reached a harbor which he called "Pentecost" and explored a great distance the river which, in the opinion of the writer, was that now known as the Kennebec, where he set up a cross and took possession in the name of King James.

The advantages derived from Monhegan certainly proved considerable, but Sir Ferdinando Gorges lays the stress upon another point, and affirms that the savages captured by Weymouth and carried to England, and trained for future service, were the means "under God, of putting on foot and giving life to all our plantations." What he learned from them encouraged him to use his influence with Sir John Popham; and, finally, by their joint efforts, the king was induced to grant two patents, one for the London Company and one for the Plymouth Company; both being under a general governing body composed of thirteen persons, called the "Council of Virginia." The territory of the London Company included the regions between 34° and 41° N., and that of Plymouth 38° and 45° N. They were entitled to coin money, impose taxes and duties, and exercise a general government for twenty-one years.\* The value of Weymouth's voyage, therefore, cannot be questioned, and in no inferior sense may be regarded as one of the founders of New England. It was under this patent that the Popham Colony was undertaken at the mouth of the Kennebec, then known as Sagadahoc.

It is true that the men who undertook the enterprise did not possess the deliberate purpose essential to immediate success. Nevertheless this may be viewed as preparatory to the scheme afterward unfolded on the New England coast. The enterprise was inaugurated in 1606. Some of the notices of this event, however, are contradictory. Strachey says that Sir John Popham "prepared a tall ship well furnished," which set sail from Plymouth under one "Haines, Maister," who took as "Captaine" one "Martin Prin," and that the ship was captured by the Spaniards at the Azores.† But the ship was not captured there, neither was Prin on board. Sir Ferdinando Gorges states that he himself sent out a ship under Captain Challons, with orders to keep to the northward as far as Cape Breton, and then sail southward to Sagadahoc; but that, when the vessel reached the Azores, Challons fell sick, and his subordinates took the responsibility of sailing by the way of the West Indies, where they were captured by the Spaniards and carried to Spain.‡ The account of Stoneman the Pilot indicates that they were carried southward by the *wind*, and so captured and sent to Spain. Stoneman reached England September 18, and reported to Sir Ferdinando.§

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\* Hazard, vol. i. p. 50.

† "Historie of Travaille," p. 162.

‡ "Brief Narration of the Original Undertakings of the Advancement of Plantations," in 3 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. vi. pp. 51, 52, and "Brief Relation" of President and Council, in 2 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. ix. p. 3.

§ Stoneman gives a revolting picture of the barbarities of the Spaniards.

But so earnest were the movers in this enterprise, that, before hearing of the fate of Challons another ship was sent out. The "President and Council" say that Thomas Hanam was captain, and "Martine Prine," master. This was Pring who made the voyage of 1603. On reaching the coast of Maine, Pring failed to find Challons, but Gorges says that he made "a perfect discovery of all those rivers and harbors." In fact, it was the most exact exploration that ever came into his hands.\* Hanam also wrote a journal, which Purchas used. He says that Hanam, who sailed to Sagadahoc, "relateth of their beasts, dogs like wolves, of colors black, white, red, grised: red deer, and a beast bigger, called the mus, &c., of their fowls, fishes, trees: of some ore proved to be silver. Bashabes hath many under-Captains called *Sigamos*: their houses built with withs and covered over with mats, six or seven paces long. He expreseth also the names of their twelve moons or months: as January, Mussekeshoo, February, Gignokiakeshos," &c.†

Reaching the year 1607, there are yet some conflicting statements. The memory of Gorges is at fault when he says that "three sail of ships" were employed. The number of "landmen" he puts at one hundred, but in this he does not include Captains Popham and Gilbert, and "divers other gentlemen of note." Smith makes the same statement as to the number of persons. The "Brief Relation" of the President and Council gives the same number of "landmen," but properly mentions only two ships, while Strachey says that there were "one hundred and twenty persons and planters." The author of this journal, our principal guide in the expedition, does not mention the strength of the colonists. There were no women.

Sailing from Plymouth the last day of May, 1607, and from the Lizard, June 1, at six o'clock in the afternoon, at the end of twenty-four days the expedition reached the Azores. Here the principal ship, the "Mary and John," had a narrow escape from the Netherlands, who seized Captain Gilbert and charged him with being a pirate.

In the mean while Captain Popham, who commanded the fly boat called the "Gift of God," paid no attention to the signals of distress made by Gilbert's crew, and finally sailed away, apparently either ignorant or careless of what was transpiring. After escaping from the Netherlands, Gilbert also stood to sea, and crossed the ocean alone, sighting the coast of Nova Scotia, July 28. His landfall, however, has been stated incorrectly by every writer who has touched upon the subject. The earliest opinion, encouraged by Smith, placed the landfall at Monhegan, but after the publication of Strachey's work, it was

See Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1832. Also letter of Gorges to Challons. Cal. State Papers, Colo., under March 13, 1607. Folsom gives the wrong date in his Documents relating to Maine (p. 1), where Gorges calls the leader of the voyage "Chalinge," though in the Brief Narration it is "Challoung." Purchas writes, "Challons," and "Challenge."

\* "Brief Narration," chap. v.

† Purchas, vol. v. p. 830.

supposed by some to have been Mount Desert, while the "Cape" which appears so prominently in the narrative was regarded as Small Point. These were little better than guesses.

The approach to the land, and the subsequent movements of the "Mary and John," are described particularly by the author of the narrative we now print, who was on this ship. Gilbert crossed the southern edge of Grand Bank and passed thence to Sable Bank. According to the soundings, he did not run very far south of Sable Island. Next he stood west-north-west, looking for the land two or three days; but having a light breeze he made only thirty-six leagues. July 30 the land was seen to the north-west, distant about ten leagues. Failing to reach the coast before night, he "struck a hull," so that it was not until three o'clock the next afternoon that the ship got in upon anchorage. The island under which Gilbert anchored in the storm-tossed "Mary and John" lay in  $44^{\circ} 20' N$ . It was "Ironbound," lying in the well-known harbor or river of La Heve. This place was visited in the autumn of the same year by Lescarbot, then on his way home.

The testimony which covers this subject is unanswerable, yet its character has escaped attention. The pilot had a fair opportunity for making his observations, and that fact alone gave a good clew. The name of the port, "Emannet," indeed afforded no help, but the name of the chief in authority there was "Messamott," a fact stated by Strachey. Who, therefore, was "Messamott"? Lescarbot tells us that he was a travelled Sagamore, known on the continent as the Sagamore of La Heve. He had been the guest of Grandmont in France. The summer before the Popham colonists arrived, he sailed to Saco with Champlain to arrange a peace with his enemies. Lescarbot celebrates his prowess in "The Muses of New France," and in his narrative, probably borrowed from Champdoré.

The highland seen by Gilbert when out at sea was the well-known landfall of La Heve. It was the port made by Champlain in 1604.\* The general description of Champlain also agrees with that of our author. Lescarbot speaks of the abundance of gooseberries found later in the season.

The "Mary and John" lay here over Sunday, where divine worship was doubtless celebrated by the chaplain; and at midnight, Gilbert took a fair north-east breeze and ran down the coast south-west. The next day many islands were seen. The wind being light, they delayed to catch fish; hence Cape Sable was not reached until the morning of August 4. The journal describes its well-known white rocks, though the latitude is given as only  $43^{\circ} N$ . After rounding the cape, they found a "great deep bay," the Bay of Fundy, and sailing thence seven leagues in a westerly direction they made "three Illands," the well-known Seal Islands, almost exactly seven leagues from the cape, with the Horseshoe Ledge nearly a league to the south-west. Gilbert, knowing his ground, sailed confidently for Sagadahoc, until, supposing that he had gone far enough south, he held in north-

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\* "Œuvres," tome v. p. 50.

erly, expecting to see the high land. On the afternoon of August 5, the Camden Hills appeared, the three double peaks of which rose above the waves, and were sketched by the writer, who thought them ten miles away, but recognized them as the Penobscot Range. He also observes that this is the first land seen after leaving the cape, being thirty-four hours on the way, evidently with little wind.

Standing in toward the west, they next sighted three islands, lying east and west, whose white rocks shone "like unto Dover cliffs," the Matinicus group, which, on this course, *appear* as three. Strachey adds, evidently quoting an exact authority, "There lyeth so-west from the easternmost of the three islands a white rocky island." This is Matinicus Rock, which now bears a lighthouse.

Coming nearer the mountains and to the westward of Matinicus, two of the double peaks already seen rose from the waves, each becoming one. Thence the "Mary and John" held westward eight leagues, and sighted three other islands, Monhegan, Metinic, and Burnt Island, the outer of the Georges group. Under Monhegan, an island already visited and named by Champlain "Ship Island" (*La Nef*), Gilbert dropped anchor.

The succeeding movements of the expedition are tolerably plain, but the outward voyage is now interpreted for the first time. The statements of the journal, when understood, agree with the actual courses, and prove that the master, Robert Davies, or whoever he may have been, was a correct and observing navigator. The modern coast pilot is hardly more clear.

Landing upon the Island of Monhegan, named by Waymouth St. George, a cross was found "set up," the author says, as "we suppose" by Waymouth. In this, however, the company were doubtless at fault, yet the supposition has been accepted as a fact, and has led to much confusion in connection with the voyage of Waymouth. It may have been set up by Pring, who, in 1606, made his exploration of Sagadahoc, and probably sailed to Waymouth's landfall; or by Champlain, in the autumn of 1604.

The next morning, to their great joy, they were joined by the "Gift," now seen for the first time since they parted at the Azores. There was no room, however, for recrimination. At midnight, Gilbert left Monhegan, where the two vessels lay at anchor, and with a dozen men, including the Indian "Skidwarres," a name, according to Rosier, signifying a "gentleman," rowed to Pemaquid, moving with measured stroke among the "gallant islands" that flung down their shadows upon the calm tide. Landing, and crossing Pemaquid Point, they reached an Indian village, and met Nahanada a Sagamore, one of the Indians captured by Waymouth, and who had been returned by Pring the previous year. This chief, though at first alarmed, received the English with joy, after which Gilbert returned to his ship. The next day being Sunday, the members of the expedition landed on Monhegan, and, under the shadow of the cross, they observed what may be called the first English Thanksgiving in New England, the preacher being the Rev. Richard Seymour,

who conducted services, we may well suppose, according to the Book of Common Prayer.\*

Sunday being past, another visit was made to Nahanada, but with no result beyond the desertion of Skidwarres; after which they sailed for Sagadahoc, where the "Mary and John" narrowly escaped being wrecked, — finally getting into harbor on Sunday forenoon, August 16. Then followed a boat expedition up the river. Afterward a site was selected for the fort, and the colony duly organized, the company possessing all the powers of a commonwealth. As the fort progressed, Digby, the shipwright, proceeded to build a pinnace, the "Virginia," a craft that afterward did good service on the ocean. Captain Gilbert also explored the Sheepscoot River, and later gained the upper reaches of the Kennebec.

The manuscript ends after alluding to the meeting with Sabenor, "Lord of the river of Sagadehock." Strachey, however, continues the account in language which indicates that he is employing the remainder of our narrative. At the end he adds some items perhaps not found in the authority which he had so liberally used. As already mentioned, he is clearly in error when he says that the "Mary and John" was sent back "soon after their first arrival," as the vessel was detained to receive the letter of President Popham addressed to King James, dated Dec. 13, 1607, sailing two days after.

Strachey relates that after the departure of Davies, they finished the fort and built fifty houses therein, besides a church, evidently a little chapel, and a storehouse. "Fifty," however, is doubtless a clerical error for five, as in one place he puts fourteen leagues for forty. Five houses would have been ample for the little company, and would at the same time fill up all the space inside the fort. The President and Council speak simply of "their lodgings"; while our author, on August 31, mentions only "the storehouse." Nevertheless, the fort, with twelve guns and seven buildings, must have appeared quite imposing.

During the winter they seem to have done some exploration, but the season was one of unusual severity both in Europe and America, and before the cold weather was over Captain Popham died. According to Purchas, this event took place February 5.† The "Brief Relation" says that this was the only man that died there, which, technically, may be true; but the journal of Gilbert shows that "Master Patteson was slain by the Savages of Nanhoc, a River of the Tarentines." According to Gorges, the storehouse, containing the most of their provisions, was burned during the winter;‡ and Harlow says that the "short commons caused a fear of mutiny." Nevertheless, a considerable quantity of furs rewarded their exertions, and a "good store of sarsaparilla" was gathered. The colonists also finished their pinnace, which afterward sailed between England and Virginia.§

\* Popham Memorial, p. 101.

† Purchas, vol. v. p. 830.

‡ Ibid.

§ In 1609 she is mentioned as "a boat built in the north colony." See *ante*, p. 84.



Captain Gilbert, it appears, heard a story reported by David Ingram,\* in 1569, where he says, "The people told our men of Cannibals, near Sagadahoc, with teeth three inches long," probably deformed Tarrantines. The natives also reported an open sea inland, and the colonists believed that they were not far from China. Popham reported the sea to King James,† as Verrazano reported his open sea to Francis I. Gilbert, not to be outdone by the nutmegs which Popham reported, discovered a lake of hot water.‡ During the winter, religious services were maintained with good results.

Stories, originally put in circulation by the French, represent that eleven of the colonists were murdered by the Indians. Father Biard, however, did not understand the Indian language, yet he says that when he visited Kennebec in 1611, he made inquiries about the English, and was told that they came in 1608, and had a kind leader who died, and that the next year the Indians quarrelled with the English, who attacked them with dogs and fired upon them with cannon. But as the colonists left in 1608, they could not have been guilty of the acts alluded to. The reference to dogs recalls circumstances connected with Waymouth's voyage, while the real offender probably was Henry Hudson, who, in 1609, entered Some's Sound at Mount Desert, and there, in the most cruel manner, attacked and plundered the savages.§ After getting all he could of the savages by fair means, Hudson's pilot says: "In the morning we manned our scute with four muskets and six men, and took one of their shallops and brought it aboard. Then we manned our boat and scute with twelve men and muskets and two stone pieces, or murderers, and drove the savages from their houses and took the spoil of them."|| It may have been this disgraceful and unprovoked attack by the crew of the "Half Moon," who were part English and part Dutch, that has been attributed to the colonists at Sagadahoc. The Indians who gave the information were not of the local tribe, whose peaceable disposition was vouched for, in 1616, by Brawnde; while it was the Pemaquid chief, Samoset, who hailed the Plymouth Pilgrims with the words, "Welcome, Englishmen." It is hardly to be supposed that the savages around Sagadahoc had ever been fired upon with cannon.

Still, though the relations of the colonists to the Indians were peaceful, their enterprise did not succeed; and when Captain Davies returned in the spring, he found the company greatly discouraged, no mines having been found, which Strachey says was "the main

\* Hakluyt, London, 1589, pp. 558-561.

† Maine Hist. Coll. vol. v. p. 357.

‡ Purchas, vol. v. p. 830.

§ Biard wrote two versions of this story. "Relations des Jésuites," tome i. p. 37, Quebec, 1858: and Carayon's "Première Mission," p. 70. See "Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson." In a boastful spirit, the Indians may have changed *one* to *eleven*; but it is more likely that they gave the account to Biard in their bad French, and thus confused *un* with *onze*, as the two words are pronounced so nearly alike.

|| Juett in Asher's "Henry Hudson," p. 61.

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intended benefit expected." The presence of Captain Gilbert was also required in England, and Chief Justice Popham being dead, it was concluded to abandon the settlement. Details of the return voyage are wanting, but the colonists must have gone home in a ship that was well furnished with every thing needed to maintain them in the new world. The pinnace was also used on the return passage.

"This," says Strachey, "was the end of that northern colony upon the River Sachadehoc." No mention is afterward made of any return of the English; and the only recorded visit is that of the French in the autumn of 1611, where no resident was found, the paths leading to the fort being untrodden. Biard says that, in company with Biencourt, he reached the Kennebec from the east, October 28. Entering the harbor where, in 1607, Popham had moored the "Gift" and the "Mary and John," the French were all animation, and at once hastened to view the stronghold built by the English. As they approached the works they knew they were safe, all things indicating the absence of occupants. Biard writes: "Straightway all our people landed, desirous to see the fort of the English, because we had learned from the paths that no person was there. At first they began to praise and extol the enterprise of the English, and to enumerate the advantages of the place"; soon, however, he testifies, they saw the situation with a military eye, and discovered that the ground was badly chosen, as another fort, properly placed, would have cut them off from both the river and the sea.\*

Such is the only known description of the place written at that period. The French were evidently impressed by the magnitude of the work. It indicated enterprise, and proved that the builders wrought with regard to something more than a transient occupation. Of the dwellings, nevertheless, Biard says nothing.

Smith says with reference to the enterprise, "They all returned for England in the yeere 1608, and thus the plantation was begun and ended in one yeere, and the country esteemed as a cold, barren, mountainous desert." Gorges also says, "They all resolved to quit the place and with one consent to [come] away."† The President and Council also say, "The whole company resolve upon nothing but their return with the ships."‡

Yet at all events, the English claimed the coast without qualification, and "Sir Francis Popham having the ships and provision which remained of the company, and supplying what was necessary for his purpose, sent divers times to the coast for trade and fishing."§ In 1611, Harlow confiscated a French ship for intruding upon the waters of Maine. When Biencourt sailed to the site of the colony, it was expressly to attack the English, who were supposed to be there, though such was not the case, as already related. Smith, in 1614,

\* Carayon, p. 63. See Hist. Mag., Sept., 1866, where the French of the narrative is misunderstood.

† "Brief Narrative," p. 10.

‡ "Brief Relation," p. 3.

§ "Brief Relation," p. 4.



found one of Francis Popham's ships that had frequented the port opposite Monhegan for "many years," for fishing and trading in furs. Vines wintered in the country once, and others were known to have spent the cold season on Monhegan.

Concerning the character and the merits of the colonists of Sagadahoc, there has been some warm discussion, though no established facts have been produced that reflect upon their reputation. The colonists were probably no better than the average men of their class, yet there is nothing to indicate that there were any among them who required disciplinary treatment. The Lord Chief Justice has been denounced for his severe conduct of the courts of justice and for the sins of his youth; but impartial critics will allow that this is altogether aside from the question. So far as we actually know, the course pursued by the colonists was humane and pacific. One of their number was killed by the Tarrantines of the east, while the loss of their provisions induced the fear of a mutiny, yet the temptation to indulge in disorder was resisted. Industry and order seemed to have prevailed, and due respect was shown for the services of religion, the bearing of the English worshippers led by Chaplain Seymour being such as to recommend to the simple savage a faith which he could not comprehend. When, however, it was found that the main purpose for which the colony was undertaken could not be achieved, they departed to employ their activities in another sphere.

Among those who have brought charges against the Popham colonists may be mentioned Aubrey, in his "Letters," &c., vol. ii. p. 495; and Sir William Alexander, "Map and Description," p. 30. Bacon's Essay on "Plantations" has also been used. We have cited Alexander in the "Appendix." The replies to these attacks are well known, among them being papers by the late Dr. Ballard of Brunswick, Maine.

B. F. DeCOSTA.

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THE RELATION  
OF A VOYAGE UNTO NEW  
ENGLAND  
BEGAN FROM THE LIZARD YE FIRST OF  
JUNE 1607.

BY CAPT<sup>n</sup> POPHAM IN YE SHIP YE GIFT

[AND]

CAPT<sup>n</sup> GILBERT IN YE MARY AND JOHN:

WRITTEN BY . . . . .

& FOUND AMONG YE PAPERS OF YE TRULY WOR<sup>SEFUL</sup>  
S<sup>r</sup> FERDINANDO GORGES K<sup>NT</sup>

BY ME

WILLIAM GRIFFITH.\*

Departed from the Lyzard the first day of June, A.D. [1607], being Monday, about six of the clock in the afternoon, and it bore off me then north-east and by north eight leagues off.

From hence directed our course for the Islands of Flowers and Corve, in the which we were twenty-four days attaining of it, at which time we still kept the sea and never saw but one sail, being a ship of Salcom † bound for the Newfoundland, wherein was one Sosser [?] of Dartmouth, master in her.

The twenty-fifth day of June we fell with the Island of Garsera, ‡ one of the islands of the Azores, and it bore off us then south and by east ten leagues off, our master and his mates making it to be Flowers, but myself withstood them and reproved them in their error, as afterward it appeared manifestly, and then stood round for Flowers. The 26th of June we had sight of Flowers and Corve, and the 27th, in the morning early, we were hard aboard Flowers, and stood in for to find good road for to anchor, whereby to take in wood and water. The 28th we descried two sails standing in for Flowers, whereby we presently weighed anchor, and stood towards the road of Santa Cruz, being near three leagues from the place where we watered. There Captain Popham anchored to take in wood and water, but it was so calm that we could not recover or get unto him before the day came on.

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\* This is not the title given by the author, but was prefixed to the manuscript at a later period. — B. F. D.

† Salcombe. — B. F. D.

‡ The reader will understand that by "Garsera," "Flowers," and "Corve," the islands of Graciosa, Flores, and Corvo, belonging to the group of the Azores Islands, are intended. — B. F. D.

The Relation  
of a Voyage unto New=  
England  
Began from the Lizard, y<sup>e</sup> first of  
June 1607.  
By Capt<sup>r</sup> Popham in y<sup>e</sup> Ship y<sup>e</sup> Gift  
Capt<sup>r</sup> Gilbert in y<sup>e</sup> Mary & John:  
Written by  
& found amongs y<sup>e</sup> Papers of truly - Wor<sup>th</sup>full  
S<sup>r</sup> Ferdinando Gorges, Lt  
by me  
William Griffith.



The 29th of June being Monday, early in the morning those two sails we had seen the night before were near unto us, and being calm they sent their boats, being full of men, towards us, and after the order of the sea they hailed us, demanding us of whence we were, the which we told them and found them to be Flemens and the state's ships. One of our company, named John Goyett, of Plymouth, knew the captain of one of the ships, for that he had been at sea with him. Having acquainted Captain Gilbert of this, and being all friends, he desired the captain of the Dutch to come near and take a can of beer, the which he thankfully accepted, we still keeping ourselves in a readiness both of our small shot and great. The Dutch captain being come to our ship's side, Captain Gilbert desired him to come aboard him and entertained him in the best sort he could. This done, they to requite his kind entertainment desired him that he would go aboard with them, and upon their earnest entreaty he went with them, taking three or four gentle[men] with them, but when they had him aboard of them they there kept him perforce, charging him that he was a pirate, and still threatening himself and his gentlemen with him to throw them all overboard, and to take our ship from us.\* In this sort they kept them from ten of the clock morning until eight of the clock night, using some of his gentlemen in most vile manner, as setting some of them in the bilboes, buffeting of others, and other most vile and shameful abuses; but in the end having seen our commission, the which was proffered unto them at the first, but they refused to see it, and the greatest cause doubting of the Englishmen being of their own company who had promised Captain Gilbert that if they proffered to perform that which they still threatened him that then they all would rise with him, and either end their lives in his defence, or suppress the ship; the which the Dutch perceiving, presently set them at liberty, and sent them aboard unto us again, to our no small joy.† Captain Popham, all this time being in the wind of us, never would come round unto us, notwithstanding we making all the signs that possibly we might, by striking our topsail and hoisting it again three times, and making towards him all that ever we possibly could, so here we lost company of him, being the 29th day of June, about eight of the clock at night, being six leagues from Flowers, west-north-west, we standing our course for Vyrgeria. The 30th we lay in sight of the island.

\* Possibly there was some connection between the conduct of the Dutch and the state of feeling indicated by Rosier, where, in the introduction to Waymouth's voyage, he says, "After these purposed designs were concluded, I was animated to publish this brief relation, and not before; because some foreign nation (being fully assured of the fruitfulness of the country) have hoped hereby to gain some knowledge of the place, seeing they could not allure our captain or any special man of our company to combine with them for their direction, nor obtain their purpose in conveying away our savages, which was busily in practice." 3 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. viii. p. 127. The Dutch certainly made strong efforts to secure New England. — B. F. D.

† Part of this sentence is obscure. We interpret it thus: that the captain of the Dutch ship "doubting," that is, *fearing* that the Englishmen, making part of his own ship's company, might rise, as they had promised or threatened to do, to prevent any additional outrage on Captain Gilbert and his companions, was induced to liberate them. — B. F. D.

The first day of July being Wednesday, we departed from the Island of Flowers, being ten leagues south-west from it.

From hence we always kept our course to the westward as much as wind and weather would permit, until the 27th day of July, during which time we oftentimes sounded, but could never find ground. This 27th, early in the morning, we sounded, and had ground but eighteen fathoms,\* being then in the latitude of  $43\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ ; here we fished three hours, and took near two hundred of cod, very great and large fish, bigger and larger fish than that which comes from the Bank of the Newfoundland; here we might have laden our ship in less time than a month.

From hence the wind being at south-west, we set our sails and stood by the wind, west north-west towards the land, always sounding for our better knowledge as we ran towards the mainland from the bank.

From this bank we kept our course west north-west thirty-six leagues, which is from the 27th of July until the 30th of July, in which time we ran thirty-six leagues, as is before said, and then we saw the land † about ten of the clock in the morning, bearing north-west from us about ten leagues, and then we sounded and had a hundred fathoms black ooze here. As we came in towards the land from this bank we still found deep water; the deepest within the bank is one hundred and sixty fathoms, and in one hundred fathom ‡ you shall see the land if it be clear weather; after you pass the bank the ground is still black ooze until you come near the shore. This day we stood in for the land, but could not recover it before the night took us, so we stood a little from it and there struck a hull until the next day, being the last of July; here lying at hull we took great store of codfishes, the biggest and largest that I ever saw, or any man in our ship. This day, being the last of July, about three of the clock in the afternoon we recovered the shore and came to an anchor under an island, for all this coast is full of islands or broken land, but very sound and good shipping to go by them, the water deep, eighteen or twenty fathoms hard aboard them.

This island standeth in the latitude of  $44\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ ,§ and here we had not

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\* There is only one part of the Bank where, according to the "Atlantic Neptune," this depth is found. — B. F. D.

† The land seen was either Cape La Heve or the Aspotogeon Hills, which are close by. The cape is an abrupt cliff a hundred and seven feet high, pushing boldly out to sea, while the hills are very noticeable far away at sea. — B. F. D.

‡ This deep water is found on the charts as indicated by the journal. The deepest inside Sable Bank, shown by the "Atlantic Neptune," is one hundred and fifty-two fathoms, which occurs in the course sailed. About thirty miles south-east of Cape La Heve, a hundred fathoms are found, indicating with tolerable precision the position of the "Mary and John" when land was first seen. — B. F. D.

§ Ironbound Island lies precisely in this latitude at the mouth of the La Heve River. Blunt says, "The shores are bold, and much indented with irregular inlets or bays." In the vicinity, twenty fathoms of water are common. "Coast Pilot," 21st ed. 1867, p. 195. Mr. Major, misled by Captain John Smith, and neglecting the fact that points of eastern Nova Scotia lie in the same latitude as parts of the Maine coast, says, "The latitude here given would lead to the supposition that the island referred to was Mount Desert Island in Frenchman's Bay; but nearly all other histories record Manhegin Island as the point at which they

been at an anchor past two hours before we espied a bisken shallop coming towards us, having in her eight savages and a little savage boy. They came near unto us and spoke unto us in their language, and we making signs to them that they should come aboard of us, showing unto them knives, glasses, beads, and throwing into their boat some biscuit, but for all this they would not come aboard of us, but making show to go from us, we suffered them. So when they were a little from us, and seeing we proffered them no wrong, of their own accord returned and came aboard of us, and three of them stayed all that night with us. The rest departed in the shallop to the shore, making signs unto us that they would return unto us again the next day.

The next day the same savages, with three savage women, being the first day of August, returned unto us, bringing with them some few skins of beaver in another bisken shallop, proffering their skins to truck with us.\* But they demanded over-much for them, and we seemed to make light of them; and

So then the other three which had stayed with us all night went into the shallop, and so they departed. It seemeth that the French † hath trade with them, for they use many French words. The chief commander of these parts is called Messamott, ‡ and the river or har-

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first landed." "Historie of Travaile," pp. 165, 166 n. Following Smith, Mr. Bancroft makes the first landing at Monhegan, vol. i. p. 205, ed. 1876. — B. F. D.

\* Lescarbot speaks of his traffic here. Evidently it was a well-known trading post. — B. F. D.

† Savalet of Canso was doubtless among their customers, and furnished them with European shallops. "Nouvelle France," p. 604. — B. F. D.

‡ Champlain spells the name "Messamouët," and mentions his visit to Saco, in company with "Secondon." "Œuvres," tome ii. p. 92. Lescarbot describes his doings there in full: "From this isle they went to the river of Olmehin, a port of Chouiakot, where Marchin and the said Olmehin brought a Souriquois prisoner (and therefore their enemy) to Sieur Poutrincourt, whom they gave him freely. Two hours after there arrived two savages, one an Etechemin named Chkoudun, captain of the River St. John, called by the savages Oigoudi; the other Souriquois named Messamoet, captain or Sagamore in the river of the port La Heve, where this prisoner was taken. They had a great quantity of merchandise trucked with the French, which they came to sell, viz., large, medium, and small kettles, hatchets, knives, gowns, short mantles, red waistcoats, biscuit, and other things. Thereupon there arrived twelve or fifteen boats full of savages of Olmehin's following, in good order, their faces painted according to their custom, in beautifying themselves, having the bow and arrow in hand, and the quiver which they laid down. Then Messamoet commenced his harangue before the savages, 'reminding them that in the past they had often been at amity, and that they might easily overcome their enemies, if they would act understandingly and make use of their friendship with the French, who were then present in order to reconnoitre the country, to the end that they might bring them commodities in the future, and aid them with their strength which he knew,' and he was able to represent to them so much better, because he who spoke had formerly been in France, and dwelt in the house of Grandmont, Governor of Bayonne. Finally, his speech continued almost an hour with much vehemence and feeling, and with a gesture of body and arms such as is required in a good orator." "Nouvelle France," p. 559, ed. 1612. All this, however, together with his gifts, failed, and the chief went away resolved upon war, which the Saco tribe had already prosecuted as far as La Heve. See also Lescarbot's reference to the warlike actions of this chief in "Les Muses de la Nouvelle France," p. 46, ed. 1612. He probably went on a visit to France in one of De Mont's ships. — B. F. D.



bor is called Emannett.\* We take these people to be the Tarentyns † [and these people, as we have learned since, do make wars with Sasanoa, the chief commander to the westward, where we have planted, and this summer they killed his son]. ‡

So the savages departed from us, and came no more unto us. After they were departed from us we hoisted out our boat, wherein myself § was with twelve others, and rowed to the shore, and landed on this island that we rode under, the which we found to be a gallant island, full of high and mighty trees of sundry sorts; here we also found abundance of gooseberries, || strawberries, raspberries, and whorts. So we returned and came aboard.

Sunday being the 2d of August, after dinner our boat went to the shore again to fill fresh water; where, after they had filled their water, there came four savages unto them, having their bows and arrows in their hands, making show unto them to have them come to the shore. But our sailors having filled their water would not go to the shore unto them, but returned and came aboard, being about five of the clock in the afternoon. So the boat went presently from the ship unto a point of an island, and there, at low water, in an hour killed near fifty great lobsters. You shall see them where they lie in shoal water, not past a yard deep, and with a great hook made fast to a staff, you shall hitch them up there, a great store of them; you may near load a ship with them, and they are of great bigness; I have not seen the like in England. So the boat returned aboard, and we took our boat in; and about midnight the wind came fair at north-east. We set sail and departed from thence, keeping our course south-west, for so the coast lieth.

Monday being the 3d of August, in the morning we were fair by the shore, and so sailed along the coast; we saw many islands all along the coast, and great sounds going betwixt them, but we could make proof of none for want of a pinnacle; here we found fish still all along the coast as we sailed.

Tuesday being the 4th of August, in the morning, five of the clock, we were athwart of a cape ¶ or headland, lying in the latitude of 43°,

\* We have not yet found any other reference to the Indian name of the river La Heve in the early chronicles. — B. F. D.

† On these people see Maine Hist. Soc. Coll. vol vii. p. 95. — B. F. D.

‡ The part enclosed in brackets was, of course, added by the author at a later period. For the account of the death of Sasanoa, see later, under August 22. — B. F. D.

§ Strachey, who may have known the author of this journal, says that this person was the pilot, R. Davies. Purchas also used the journal and attributes it to James Davies (vol. v. p. 890). — B. F. D.

|| Lescarbot says, "And in the same port we saw the cod bite the hook. There we found an abundance of red gooseberries (*grozelles rouges*), and a marcasite of copper mine. There we had some traffic in peltry with the savages." "Nouvelle France," ed. 1612, p. 604. Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1640. Champlain puts the Cape of La Heve in 40° 5', and speaks of the islands as covered with pines, and the mainland with oaks, chestnuts, &c. "Œuvres," tome ii. p. 8. — B. F. D.

¶ Whether or not our author meant to say that the cape was exactly in latitude 43° N. is not clear. The cape in question was Cape Sable, which is in

and came very near unto it. It is very low land, showing white like sand, but it is white rocks; and very strong tides\* goeth here from the place we stopped at, being in  $44\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ . Until this cape or headland it is all broken land and full of islands, and large sounds betwixt them, and here we found fish abundance, so large and great as I never saw the like cods before, neither any in our ship.

After we passed this cape or headland, the land falleth away and lyeth in north-west and by north into a great deep bay.† We kept our course from this headland west and west and by south seven leagues, and came to three islands,‡ where coming near unto them we found on the south-east side of them a great ledge of rocks,§ lying near a league into the sea, the which we perceiving tacked our ship, and the wind being large to north-east cleared ourselves of them, keeping still our course to the westward, west and by south, and west south-west until midnight, then after we held in more northerly.

Wednesday being the 5th of August, from after midnight we held in west north-west until three of the clock afternoon of the same, and then we saw the land again, bearing from us north-west and by north, and it riseth in this form hereunder. Ten or twelve leagues from you,

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$43^{\circ} 25'$ . If he meant to be exact, he was in error to the extent indicated. Mr. Major took the ground that he was in error "more than half a degree." This was assumed to accommodate his theory that the cape was Cape Small Point. He says, "In order to verify and define in modern nomenclature, the description of the course held by the adventurers . . . a very beautiful and elaborate map of this coast, in the British Museum, on a scale of two miles to an inch, has been used"; and he concludes that while the headland was Small Point, the three islands were the Damiscove, Wood, and Outer Heron Islands, with the Pumpkin Ledges. He says "no more southerly cape" would offer the requisite island; whereas what he needed was a *northerly* cape. The fact that the "Mary and John" made her first port, coming in immediately from a well-known fishing bank, alone would be sufficient to prove that the landfall was not on the Maine coast. See Major's remarks in "Historie," p. 166 n. The cape described as "white like sand" was Cape Sable, so called at an early period by the French on account of the *sablon* or sand. If the cape had been Small Point, and the "Mary and John" had continued on the course described, the colonists would have approached the interior of Maine. — B. F. D.

\* Blunt's Coast Pilot describes the strong tides running "at the rate of three and sometimes four knots an hour." — B. F. D.

† Bay of Fundy. This, perhaps, may be regarded as the earliest, or one of the earliest, references to the bay by the English; unless Hakluyt had it in mind when he spoke of the "Bay of Menan." (3 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. viii. p. 107.) On the map of Mollineux (1600) projected by Wright, this bay stands apart from the unnamed gulf which seems to indicate the Bay of Fundy. The Continental maps of the sixteenth century, however, commencing with Verrazano (1529), indicate the bay with distinctness, whether it is called *Terra onde*, *hondo*, *condo*, *fondo*, *fonda*, or Fundy. See the Verrazano map, in "Verrazano the Explorer," revised from Mag. of American History. Barnes & Co., New York, 1880. — B. F. D.

‡ This group is composed of what is now known as "Seal" and the "Mud Islands." On some charts one name is applied to all. If the smallest were included, they would number four. Sailing to the southward the navigator would notice only three. — B. F. D.

§ This ledge, according to Blunt, "is called the Horseshoe, and runs out two and one-half miles, south-east by south." The description is almost scientifically exact. — B. F. D.

there are three high mountains that lie in upon the mainland near unto the river of Penobscot, in which river the bashabe \* makes his abode, the chief commander of those parts, and stretcheth unto the river of Sagadahock under his command. You shall see these high mountains when you shall not perceive the mainland under it, they are of such an exceeding height: and note that from the cape or headland before spoken of, until these high mountains, we never saw any land except those three islands also before mentioned. We stood in right with these mountains until the next day.†



Thursday being the 6th of August, we stood in with this high land, until twelve o'clock noon, and then I found the ship to be in  $43\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ ‡ of my observation.§ From thence we set our course and stood away due west, and saw three other islands lying together, being low and flat by the water, showing white as if it were sand, but it is white rocks making show afar off almost like unto Dover cliffs.||

These three islands lie due east and west one of the other, so we came fair by them, and as we came to the westward the high land before spoken of showed itself in this form as followeth.¶



\* The article prefixed does not prove that the writer meant to give the word "bashabe" as a title. Afterward he speaks of their Indian guide as "the Skidwarres." See, on this subject, Maine Hist. Soc. Coll. vol. vii. p. 95, and Hist. Mag., April, 1868. Strachey adds that the mainland where the mountains stood was "the land called Segohquet." The distance is exaggerated. — B. F. D.

† These three mounts are the same as those given by Strachey in his "Historie" (p. 167). They represent the Camden and Union mountains. The two double peaks at the left represent the four principal peaks of the Union range, while that on the right represents Megunticook. — B. F. D.

‡ Strachey (p. 167) makes the latitude  $43^{\circ}$ . — B. F. D.

§ It would appear that our author either understood navigation, or used the reckoning of the pilot. In fact he may have used a large portion of his journal, and modified some of the statements, which would account for the variations of Strachey, supposing the latter to have followed another authority here, in part. — B. F. D.

¶ These were the Matinicus Islands. — B. F. D.

‖ Upon getting nearer, the mountains rose from the sea, and the double peaks were united. By a comparison of this view with the recently published sketch of the Coast Survey, the resemblance may be traced, though this ancient sketch is very rude. In the "Historie" (p. 168), another view is given that our manuscript omits. The Oxford MS. omits all these sketches. Our sketches have no indication of foliage on the hill-tops. — B. F. D.

From hence we kept still our course west and west by north towards three other islands that we saw lying from these islands before spoken of eight leagues, and about ten of the clock at night we recovered them, and having sent in our boat before night to view it, for that it was calm, and to sound it and see what good anchoring was under it, we bore in with one of them, the which as we came in by we still sounded, and found very deep water forty fathom hard aboard of it. So we stood in into a cove\* in it, and had twelve fathom water, and there we anchored until the morning, and when the day appeared we saw we were environed round about with islands; you might have told near thirty islands round about us from aboard our ship.†

This island we call St. Georges Island, for that we here found a cross set up, the which we suppose was set up by George Wayman.‡

Friday being the 7th of August we weighed our anchor, whereby to bring our ship in more better safety howsoever the wind should happen to blow, and about ten of the clock in the morning, as we were standing off a little from the island, we descried a sail standing in towards this island, and we presently made towards her and found it to be the "Gyfte," our consort; so being all joyful of our happy meeting, we both stood in again for the island we rode under before, and there we anchored both together.§

This night following, about midnight, Captain Gilbert caused his ship's boat to be manned and took to himself thirteen other, myself being one, being fourteen persons in all, and took the Indian Skidwarres with us. The weather being fair and the wind calm, we rowed to the west in amongst many gallant islands, and found the river of Pemaquid to be but four leagues west from the island we call St. Georges, where our ship remained still at anchor.

Here we landed in a little cove || by Skidwarres' direction, and

\* This cove does not appear to have been the harbor formed by Mananas which lies close to Monhegan, but a sheltered spot north of the harbor. — B. F. D.

† The islands are certainly numerous. — B. F. D.

‡ There is no proof that the supposition was correct. — B. F. D.

§ First meeting of the ships. Popham appeared to know the anchorage better than Gilbert. — B. F. D.

|| It would appear that they had come to the same place where Waymouth received a hostile reception. It was the resort of at least a portion of the savages abducted by that explorer, and Skidwarres conducts them directly to the place. Rosier writes of the visit made two years previous: "When we came near the point where we saw their fires" one of the men landed and found "two hundred eighty-three savages, every one his bows and arrows, with their dogs and wolves, which they keep tame at command, and not any thing to exchange at all; but would have drawn us further up into a little narrow nook of a river, for their furs, as they pretended." 3 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. viii. p. 144. That this "little nook of a river" was Pemaquid River appears from the fact that, as Strachey says, Waymouth discovered not only "the most excellent and beneficial river of Sachadahoc," but that "little one of Pemaquid." The "pond of fresh water, which flowed over the banks" fed "by a strong run," which Rosier says could be made to "drive a mill," is situated on Cape Newaggin, opposite Pemaquid River, and is indicated on one of the maps of the Coast Survey. It has been examined for the writer, and corresponds exactly with Rosier's description, proving that Waymouth had been on the spot. The pond still flows over into the sea. — B. F. D.

marched over a neck of the land \* near three miles. So the Skidwarres† brought us to the savages' houses where they did inhabit, although much against his will, for that he told us that they were all removed and gone from the place they were wont to inhabit; but we answered him again that we would not return back until such time as we had spoken with some of them. At length he brought us where they did inhabit, where we found near a hundred of them, men, women, and children, and the chief commander of them is Nahanada.‡ At our first sight of them, upon a howling or cry that they made, they all presently issued forth towards us with their bows and arrows, and we presently made a stand, and suffered them to come near unto us. Then our Indian Skidwarres spoke unto them in their language, showing them what we were, which when Nahanada, their commander, perceived what we were, he caused them all to lay aside their bows and arrows, and came unto us and embraced us, and we did the like to them again.

So we remained with them near two hours and were in their houses.

Then we took our leave of them and returned with our Indian Skidwarres with us towards our ship, the eighth day of August, being Saturday in the afternoon.

Sunday being the 9th of August, in the morning the most part of our whole company of both our ships landed on this island, the which we call St. Georges Island, where the cross standeth, and there we heard a sermon delivered unto us by our preacher,§ giving God thanks for our happy meeting and safe arrival into the country, and so returned aboard again.

Monday being the 10th of August, early in the morning Captain Popham in his shallop with thirty others, and Captain Gilbert in his ship's boat with twenty others accompanied, departed from their ships and sailed towards the river of Pemaquid, and carried with us the Indian Skidwarres, and came to the river right before their houses, where they no sooner espied us but presently Nahanada with all his Indians with their bows and arrows in their hands came forth upon the sands.

So we caused Skidwarres to speak unto him, and we ourselves spoke unto him in English, giving him to understand our coming tended to no evil towards himself|| nor any of his people. He told us again he would not that all our people should land. So because we would in no sort offend them, hereupon some ten or twelve of the chief gentlemen ¶ landed, and had some parley together, and afterward they

\* Pemaquid Point. — B. F. D.

† An Indian who had been carried away by Waymouth in 1605. — B. F. D.

‡ Another of the Indians abducted by Waymouth. — B. F. D.

§ The Rev. Richard Seymour. See Bishop Burgess in the Popham "Memorial Volume," p. 101. Also Bishop Perry's "Connection of the Church of England with Early Discovery and Colonization," Portland, 1863. — B. F. D.

|| Our copy of the manuscript says "themselfe," but evidently the word intended is *himself*. — B. F. D.

¶ The reader will notice the recurrence of the word "gentlemen," which gives some idea of the reputed *status* of many of the colonists. — B. F. D.

were well contented that all should land. So all landed, we using them with all the kindness that possibly we could; nevertheless, after an hour or two they all suddenly withdrew themselves from us into the woods and left us.

We perceiving this presently embarked ourselves, all except Skidwarres, who was not desirous to return with us.

We seeing this, would in no sort proffer any violence unto him by drawing him perforce, suffered him to remain and stay behind us, he promising to return unto us the next day following, but he held not his promise; so we embarked ourselves, and went unto the other side of the river, and there remained upon the shore the night following.

Tuesday being the 11th of August, we returned and came to our ships where they still remained at anchor under the island we call St. Georges.\*

Wednesday being the 12th of August, we weighed our anchor, and set our sails to go for the river of Sagadehock. We kept our course from thence due west until twelve of the clock midnight of the same, then we struck our sails, and laid a hull until the morning, doubting for to overshoot it.

Thursday in the morning, break of the day, being the 13th August, the Island of Sutuquin † bore north of us, not past half a league from us, and it riseth in this form hereunder following, the which island lieth right before the mouth of the river Sagadehock south from it near two leagues, but we did not make it to be Sutuquin, so we set our sails and stood to the westward for to seek it two leagues further, and not finding the river of Sagadehock, we knew that we had overshot the place; then we would have returned, but could not, ‡ and the night in hand. The "Gifte" sent in her shallop and made it, and went into the river this night; but we were constrained to remain at sea all this night, and about midnight there arose a great storm and tempest upon us, the which put us in great danger and hazard of casting away of our ship and our lives, by reason we were so near the shore. The wind blew very hard at south right in upon the shore, so that by no means we could not get off there; we sought all means and did what possible was to be done, for that our lives depended on it. Here we plied it with our ship off and on, all the night, oftentimes espying many sunken rocks and breaches hard by us, enforcing us to put our ship about and stand from them bearing sail when it was more fitter to have taken it in, but that it stood upon our lives to do it, and our boat sunk at our stern, yet would we not cut her from us in hope of the appearing of the day. Thus we continued until the day came; then we perceived ourselves to be hard aboard the lee shore, and no way to escape it but by seeking the shore; then we espied two little islands § lying under our lee.

\* Monhegan. — B. F. D.

† Seguin, well known to them through the explorations of Waymouth and Pring. — B. F. D.

‡ Strachey says that it was calm. — B. F. D.

§ The only two islands lying two leagues west of Seguin are Seal Island and the small, nameless rock shown in the Coast Survey Map, No. 5, 1865. Behind the former is safe anchorage, with ten feet at low water. — B. F. D.



So we bore up the helm, and steered in our ship in betwixt them, where, the Lord be praised for it, we found good and safe anchoring. There anchored, the storm still continuing until the next day following.

In this form,  
being south  
of it.



Being east and  
west from the  
Island of Sut-  
quin, it mak-  
eth in this  
form.\*

Friday being the 14th of August, that we anchored under these islands, there we repaired our boat, being very much torn and spoiled; then after we landed on this island,† and found four savages and an old woman; this island is full of pine-trees, of oak, and abundance of whorts of four sorts of them.

Saturday being the 15th of August, the storm ended, and the wind came fair for us to go for Sagadehock, so we weighed our anchors and set sail, and stood to the eastward, and came to the island of Sutquin, which was two leagues from those islands we rode at anchor before, and here we anchored under the Island of Sutquin in the eastern side of it, for that the wind was off the shore that we could not get into the river of Sagadehock, and there Captain Popham's ship's boat came aboard of us, and gave us twenty fresh cods that they had taken, being sent out a-fishing.

Sunday being the 16th of August, Captain Popham sent his shallop unto us for to help us in, so we weighed our anchors, and being calm, we towed in our ship, and came into the river of Sagadehock, and anchored by the "Gytte's" side about eleven of the clock the same day.

Monday being the 17th of August, Captain Popham in his shallop with thirty others, and Captain Gilbert in his ship's boat, accompanied with eighteen other persons, departed early in the morning from their ship, and sailed up the river of Sagadehock for to view the river, and also to see where they might find the most convenient place for their plantation, myself being with Captain Gilbert.

So we sailed up into this river near fourteen ‡ leagues, and found it to be a most gallant river, very broad and of a good depth; we never had less water than three fathom when we had zest§ and abundance of great fish in it, leaping above the water on each side of us as we sailed.

So the night approaching, after a while we had refreshed ourselves upon the shore, about nine of the clock we set backward to return

\* The sketches of Seguin are quite fair, especially the first. Champlain named the island "Tortue," or the Tortoise, to which it bears a resemblance. In this connection Strachey gives another very rough view of the Union Hills, which is not found in our manuscript. — B. F. D.

† It will be noticed that the language changes to "this island" (Seal Island), as if there were only one island worth mentioning. Strachey errs in saying that the two islands were west of Sagadahoc. — B. F. D.

‡ Strachey says incorrectly, "forty." — B. F. D.

§ Our transcriber writes "zest." Strachey made it "sest." Perhaps it should read, "when we had rest," or came to anchor. — B. F. D.



and came aboard our ships the next day following, about two of the clock in the afternoon. We find this river to be very pleasant, with many goodly islands in it, to be both large and deep water, having many branches in it; that which we took bendeth itself towards the north-east.\*

Tuesday being the 18th, after our return we all went to the shore, and there made choice of a place for our plantation, which is at the very mouth or entry of the river of Sagadehocke on the west side of the river, being almost an island † of a good bigness. Whilst we were upon the shore, there came in three canoes by us, but they would not come near us, but rowed up the river, and so passed away.

Wednesday being the 19th of August, we all went to the shore, where we made choice for our plantation, and there we had a sermon delivered unto us by our preacher, and after the sermon our patent was read with the orders and laws therein prescribed; then we returned aboard our ship again.

Thursday being the 20th of August, all our company landed and there began to fortify. Our president, Captain Popham, set the first spit of ground unto it, and after him all the rest followed, and labored hard in the trenches about it.

Friday, the 21st of August, all hands labored hard about the fort, some in the trench, some for faggots, and our ship carpenters about the building of a small pinnace or shallop.

Saturday, the 22d of August, Captain Popham early in the morning departed in his shallop to go for the river of Pashipakoke.‡ There they had parley with the savages again, who delivered unto them that they had been at wars with Sasanoa, and had slain his son in fight. Skidwarres and Dehanada were in this fight.

Sunday, the 23d, our president, Captain Popham, returned unto us from the river of Pashipscoke.

The 24th all labored about the fort.

Tuesday, the 25th, Captain Gilbert embarked himself and fifteen others with him to go to the westward upon some discovery, but the wind was contrary and forced him back again the same day.

The 26th and 27th all labored hard about the fort.

Friday, the 28th, Captain Gilbert, with fourteen others, myself being one, embarked him to go to the westward again; so the wind serving

\* They clearly knew the Androscoggin branch, but they ascended the true Kennebec, and must have reached the vicinity of Augusta. — B. F. D.

† The Peninsula of Sabino. Strachey gives the list of officers appointed: "George Popham, gent., was nominated President; Captain Raleigh Gilbert, James Davies, Richard Seymer, Preacher, Captain Richard Davies, Captain Harlow . . . were all sworn assistants." (*"Historie of Travaile,"* p. 172.) Smith says in his *"General Historie,"* "That Honourable patron of virtue, Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice of England, . . . sent Captain George Popham for President, Captain Rawleigh Gilbert for Admiral, Edward Harlow, Master of the Ordnance, Captain Robert Davis, Sergeant-Major, Captain Ellis Best, Marshall, Mr. Leaman, Secretary, Captain James Davis to be Captaine of the Fort, Mr. Gome Carew to be searcher: All those were of the council." — B. F. D.

‡ Sheepscot. — B. F. D.

we sailed by many gallant islands, and towards night the wind came contrary against us, so that we were constrained to remain that night under the headland called Semeamis \* where we found the land to be most fertile, the trees growing there doth exceed for goodness and length, being the most part of them oak and walnut, growing a great space asunder one from the other, as our parks in England, and no thicket growing under them. Here we also found a gallant place to fortify, † whom nature itself hath already framed, without the hand of man, with a running stream of water hard adjoining under the foot of it.

Saturday, 29th of August, early in the morning we departed from thence, and rowed to the westward, for that the wind was against us; but the wind blew so hard that forced us to remain under an island two leagues from the place we remained the night before. Whilst we remained under this island there passed two canoes by us; after mid-night we put from this island in hope to have gotten the place we desired, but the wind arose and blew so hard at south-west contrary for us that forced us to return.

Sunday being the 30th August, returning before the wind we sailed by many goodly islands, for betwixt this headland called Semeamis and the river of Sagadahock, is a great bay in the which lyeth so many islands, and so thick and near together that you cannot well discern to number them, yet may you go in betwixt them in a good ship, for you shall have never less water than eight fathoms. These islands are all overgrown with woods, very thick, as oaks, walnut, pine trees, and many other things growing, as sarsaparilla, hazel-nuts, and whorts in abundance.

So this day we returned to our fort at Sagadahock.

Monday being the last of August, nothing happened; but all labored for the building of the fort, and for the storehouse, to receive our victual.

Tuesday, the 1st of September, there came a canoe unto us in the which was two great kettles of brass; some of our company did parley with them; but they did rest very doubtful of us, and would not suffer more than one at a time to come near unto them, so he departed.

The second day, third and fourth, nothing happened worth the writing, but that each man did his best endeavor for the building of the fort.

Saturday being the 5th of September, there came into the entrance of the river of Sagadahock, nine canoes, in the which was Dehanada and Skidwarres with many others, in the whole near forty persons, men, women, and children; they came and parleyed with us, and we again used them in all friendly manner we could, and gave them victuals for to eat.

So Skidwarres and one more of them stayed with us until night. The rest of them withdrew them in their canoes to the further side of the river; but when night came, for that Skidwarres would needs go to the rest

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\* Cape Elizabeth. — B. F. D.

† On that cape stands Fort Preble. — B. F. D.

of his company, Captain Gilbert, accompanied with James Davis and Captain Ellis Best, took them into our boat and carried them to their company on the further side the river, and there remained amongst them all the night, and early in the morning the savages departed in their canoes for the river of Pemaquid, promising Captain Gilbert to accompany him in their canoes to the river of Penobskott, where the Bashabe remaineth.

The 6th nothing happened; the 7th our ship, the "Mary and John," began to discharge her victuals.

Tuesday being the 8th of September, Captain Gilbert, accompanied with twenty-two others, myself being one of them, departed from the fort to go for the river of Penobskott, taking with him divers sorts of merchandise for to trade with Bashabe, who is the chief commander of those parts; but the wind was contrary against him, so that he could not come to Dahanada and Skidwarres at the time appointed, for it was the eleventh day before he could get to the river of Pemaquid, where they do make their abode.

Friday, the 11th, in the morning early we came into the river of Pemaquid, there to call Nahanada and Skidwarres, as we had promised them, but being there arrived we found no living creature; they all were gone from thence; the which we perceiving, presently departed towards the river of Penobskott, sailing all this day and the 12th and 13th the like, yet by no means could we find it.\* So, our victual being spent, we hasten to return. So the wind came fair for us, and we sailed all the fourteenth and fifteenth days, in returning, the wind blowing very hard at north, and this morning, the fifteenth day, we perceived [a] blazing star † in the north-east of us.

The 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22d, nothing happened, but all labored hard about the fort and the storehouse for to land our victuals.

The 23d being Wednesday, Captain Gilbert, accompanied with nineteen others, myself one of them, departed from the fort to go for the head of the river of Sagadahock. We sailed all the day; so did we the like the 24th until the evening, then we landed there to remain that night. Here we found champion land and exceeding fertile; so here we remained all night.

The 25th being Friday, early in the morning we departed from hence, and sailed up the river about eight leagues farther, until we came unto an island, being low land and flat. At this island is a great downfall of water, the which runneth by both sides of this island, very swift and shallow. In this island we found great store of grapes, exceeding good and sweet, of two sorts, both red, but the one of them is a marvellous deep red. By both the sides of this river the grapes grow in abundance, and also very good hops, and also chebolls ‡ and garlic, and for the goodness of the land it doth so far abound that I cannot almost express the same. Here we all went ashore, and with a strong rope made fast to our boat and one man in her to guide her against

\* If Waymouth or Pring had visited that river in 1605-6, Popham would doubtless have had better directions for finding it. — B. F. D.

† A meteor. — B. F. D.

‡ A small onion. — B. F. D.

the swift stream, we plucked her up through it perforce. After we had passed this downfall we all went into our boat again, and rowed near a league farther up into the river, and night being at hand, we here stayed all night, and in the first of the night, about ten of the clock, there came on the farther side of the river certain savages, calling unto us in broken English. We answered them again, so for this time they departed.

The 26th being Saturday, there came a canoe unto us, and in there four savages, them that had spoken unto us in the night before. His name that came unto us is Sabenor; he maketh himself unto us to be Lord of the river of Sagadehock.\*

[They entertained him friendly, and took him into their boat and presented him with some trifling things, which he accepted; howbeit, he desired some one of our men to be put into his canoe as a pawn for his safety, whereupon Captain Gilbert sent in a man of his, when presently the canoe rowed away from them, with all the speed they could make, up the river. They followed with the shallop, having great care that the Sagamo should not leap overboard. The canoe quickly rowed from them and landed, and the men made to their houses, being near a league in the land from the river's side, and carried our man with them. The shallop, making good way, at length came unto another downfall, which was so shallow and so swift that by no means they could pass any further; for which Captain Gilbert, with nine others, landed and took their fare, the savage Sagamo, with them, and went in search after these other savages, whose houses, the Sagamo told Captain Gilbert, were not far off; and after a good, tedious march, they came indeed at length unto those savages' houses, where they found near fifty able men, very strong and tall, such as their like before they had not seen, all new painted, and armed with their bows and arrows. Howbeit, after that the Sagamo had talked with them, they delivered back again the man, and used all the rest very friendly, as did ours the like by them, who showed them their commodities of beads, knives, and some copper, of which they seemed very fond, and by way of trade made show that they would come down to the boat, and there bring such things as they had to exchange them for ours. So Captain Gilbert departed from them, and within half an hour after he had gotten to his boat, there came three canoes down unto them, and in them some sixteen savages, and brought with them some tobacco, and certain small skins which were of no value, which Captain Gilbert perceiving, and that they had nothing else wherewith to trade, he caused all his men to come aboard, and, as he would have put from the shore; the savages, perceiving so much, subtly devised how they might put out the fire in the shallop, by which means they saw they should be free from the danger of our men's

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\* What follows, in brackets, is wanting in the Lambeth Library manuscript. It is taken from the Bodleian version of Strachey's work, the number of the manuscript being 1758. The narrative in the Lambeth manuscript ends abruptly at the bottom of the last leaf, as though the following pages had been removed. This portion in brackets corresponds with pages 176-180 in Strachey's printed volume. — B. F. D.

pieces; and, to perform the same, one of the savages came into the shallop, and taking the firebrand, which one of our company held in his hand thereby to light the matches, as if he would light a pipe of tobacco, as soon as he had gotten it into his hand he presently threw it into the water and leaped out of the shallop. Captain Gilbert, seeing that, suddenly commanded his men to betake them to their muskets, and the targetiers, too, from the head of the boat, and bade one of the men before, with his target on his arm, to step on the shore for more fire; the savages resisted him, and would not suffer him to take any, and some others holding fast the boat rope that the shallop could not put off. Captain Gilbert caused the musketeers to present their pieces, the which the savages seeing, presently let go the boat rope, and betook them to their bows and arrows, and ran into the bushes, nocking their arrows, but did not shoot, neither did ours at them. So the shallop departed from them to the further side of the river, where one of the canoes came unto them, and would have excused the fault of the others. Captain Gilbert made show as if he were still friends, and entertained them kindly, and so left them, returning to the place where he had lodged the night before, and there came to an anchor for that night. The head of the river standeth in  $45^{\circ}$  and odd minutes.\* Upon the continent they found abundance of spruce-trees, such as are able to mast the greatest ship his majesty hath, and many other trees, oak, walnut, pine-apple; fish abundance; great store of grapes, hops, and chiballs; also they found certain cods † in which they supposed the cotton wool to grow, and also upon the banks many shells of pearl.

27th. Here they set up a cross and then returned homeward, in the way seeking the by-river of some note called Sasanoa. This day and the next they sought it, when the weather turned foul, and full of fog and rain; they made all haste to the fort, before which, the 29th, they arrived.

30th, and 1st and 2d of October, all busy about the fort.

3d. There came a canoe unto some of the people of the fort, as they were fishing on the sand, in which was Skidwares, who bade them tell their president that Nahanada, with the Bashabae's brother and others, were on the further side of the river, and the next day would come and visit him.

4th. There came two canoes to the fort, in which were Nahanada and his wife, and Skidwares, and the Bashabae's brother, and one other called Amenquin, a Sagamo; all whom the president feasted and entertained with all kindness, both that day and the next, which being Sunday, the president carried them with him to the place of public prayers, which they were at both morning and evening, attending it with great reverence and silence.

6th. The savages departed, all except Amenquin, the Sagamo, who would needs stay amongst our people a long time. Upon the departure of the others, the president gave unto every one of them

\* This latitude is too high. It was guess-work or a clerical error. — B. F. D.

† An old term for *pods*. — B. F. D.

copper beads or knives, which contented them not a little, as also delivered a present unto the Basshabae's brother to be presented unto Bassaba, and another for his wife, giving him to understand that he would come unto his court in the river of Penobscot, and see him very shortly, bringing many such like of his country commodities with him.

You may please to understand how,\* while this business was thus followed here, soon after their first arrival, that had despatched away Captain Robert Davies, in the "Mary and John," to advertise both of their save arrival and forwardness of their plantation within the river of Sachadehoc, with letters to the Lord Chief Justice, importuning a supply for the most necessary wants in the subsisting of a colony to be sent unto them betimes the next year.†

After Captain Davies's departure, they fully finished the fort, trenched and fortified it with twelve pieces of ordnance, and built fifty ‡ houses therein, beside a church and storehouse; and the carpenters framed a pretty pinnace, of about thirty ton, which they called the "Virginia," the chief shipwright being one Digby, of London. Many discoveries, likewise, had been made, both to the main and unto the neighboring rivers, and the frontier nations fully discovered by the diligence of Captain Gilbert, had not the winter proved so extreme unseasonable and frosty; for it being the year 1607, when the extraordinary frost was felt in most parts of Europe, it was here likewise as vehement, by which no boat could stir upon any business. Howbeit, as time and occasion gave leave, there was nothing omitted which could add unto the benefit or knowledge of the planters, for which, when Captain Davies arrived there in the year following (set out from Topsam, the port town of Exciter, with a ship laden full of victuals, arms, instruments, and tools, &c.), albeit he found Mr. George Popham, the president, and some other dead, yet he found all things in a good forwardness, and many kinds of furs obtained from the Indians by way of trade, good store of sarsaparilla gathered, and the new pinnace all finished. But by reason that Captain Gilbert received letters that his brother was newly dead, and a fair portion of his land fallen unto his share, which required his repair home, and no mines discovered, nor hope thereof, being the main intended benefit expected to uphold the charge of this plantation, and the fear that all the other winters would prove like this first, the company by no means would stay any longer in the country, especially Captain Gilbert being to leave them, and Mr. Popham, as aforesaid, dead; wherefore they all embarked in this new arrived ship, and in the new pinnace, the "Virginia," and set sail for England. And this was the end of that northern colony upon the River Sachadehoc.]

\* At this point the style of Strachey's narrative changes. The journal of Davies may have been exhausted, or he may have continued it in abstract, or the part which follows may have been drawn from another hand. — B. F. D.

† It is nowhere stated that the "Gift" returned in 1607. It is possible, notwithstanding what might be inferred from Strachey, that she remained during the winter. — B. F. D.

‡ We should undoubtedly read *five*. — B. F. D.



## APPENDIX.

The original sources of information concerning the Sagadahoc Colony, which were known previous to the publication of the Strachey volume in 1849, by the Hakluyt Society, were,— 1. Sir Ferdinando Gorges's "Brief Narration," written not long before his death, in 1647, and left in manuscript, and not published till 1658. The narrative is strangely wanting, in many parts of it, in dates; and many of the dates which are introduced are erroneous. Some of its errors are probably due to a lack of memory, others to a faulty press. Notwithstanding all these defects, the book is indispensable, and many of its errors may be corrected by other writings. Only a small part of the tract relates to the Sagadahoc Colony. 2. The "Brief Relation" of the President and Council for New England, published in 1622. The Council for New England was substantially a reincorporation of the first or Northern Colony of Virginia; and inherited its traditions, and entered into its labors. 3. Smith's "Generall Historie," pp. 203, 204, published in 1624. This book has some details taken from original sources. 4. Purchas's "Pilgrimage," 1614. In the margin, at p. 756, and repeated in the later editions of 1617 and 1626, are some detached facts about the colony, which the compiler selected from the letters or journals of the colonists, and from the notes of Hakluyt, whose papers came into Purchas's possession. From all these sources combined, the account afforded of the Sagadahoc settlement is of the most meagre character. We fail to get more than a glimpse of the life of the colony during the severe winter they experienced there, and of the circumstances attending the return of more than half the colonists in December, and of the final breaking up and return of the remainder, when the ship or "ships" came back with supplies the next year. Besides, we were sadly deficient in data for the greater part of the events. Neither did the Strachey narrative, published thirty years ago, supply these desiderata, as regards the concluding part of the colonists' history, nor, indeed, does that we now publish, which is substantially the basis of Strachey's account. We shall yet have to wait patiently for the letters or journals of other colonists, namely, John Eliot, George Popham, Raleigh Gilbert, and Edward Harlow, seen by Purchas, to come to light.

We now extract for publication, as an appendix to the foregoing narrative of the Sagadahoc Colony, the several accounts named above, in order that the reader may have before him all the original sources of information that our early chronicles afford. In the editorial Preface, we have already made several extracts from these accounts. We also append a brief extract from Sir William Alexander's "Encouragement to Colonies."

B. F. D.



*From Sir Ferdinando Gorges's "Brief Narration." London, 1658, pp. 8-10.*

"The Despatch of the First Plantation, for the Second Colony sent from Plymouth."

"By the same authority all things fully agreed upon between both the Colonies, the Lord Chief Justice [Popham], his friends and associates of the West Country, sent from Plymouth Captain Popham as president for that employment, with Captain Rawley Gilbert and divers other gentlemen of note in three sail of ships\* with one hundred landmen, for the seizing such a place as they were directed unto by the Council of that colony, who departed from the coast of England the one and thirtieth day of May, A. D. 1607, and arrived at their rendezvous the 8th of August following; as soon as the president had taken notice of the place, and given order for landing the provisions, he despatched away Captain Gilbert, with Skitwarres his guide, for the thorough discovery of the rivers and habitations of the natives, by whom he was brought to several of them, where he found civil entertainment, and kind respects, far from brutish or savage natures, so as they suddenly became familiar friends, especially by the means of Dehamda and Skitwarrers, who had been in England; Dehamda being sent by the Lord Chief Justice with Captain Prin, and Skitwarres by me in company, so as the president was earnestly entreated by Sassonow, Aberemet, and others the principal Sagamores (as they call their great lords), to go to the Bashabas, who, it seems, was their king, and held a state agreeable, expecting that all strangers should have their address to him, not he to them.

"To whom the president would have gone after several invitations, but was hindered by cross winds and foul weather, so as he was forced to return back, without making good what he had promised, much to the grief of those Sagamores that were to attend him. The Bashabas notwithstanding, hearing of his misfortune, sent his own son to visit him, and to beat a trade with him for furs. How it succeeded, I could not understand, for that the ships were to be despatched away for England, the winter being already come; for it was the fifteenth day of December before they set sail to return, who brought with them the success of what had past in that employment, which so soon as it came to the Lord Chief Justice's hands, he gave out order to the council for sending them back with supplies necessary.†

"The supplies being furnished and all things ready only attending for a fair wind, which happened not before the news of the Chief Justice's death was posted to them to be transported to the discomfort of the poor planters; but the ships arriving there in good time was a

\* Strachey, and our narrative, which he used, and the "Brief Relation," say two ships. — B. F. D.

† Sir Ferdinando's memory is here at fault. Chief Justice Popham had died as early as the 7th June, 1607, a week only after the expedition sailed for Sagadahoc. His son, Sir Francis Popham, interested himself in sending the supplies. Strachey speaks of but one ship being despatched for England, the "Mary and John." — B. F. D.

great refreshing to those that had had their storehouse and most of their provisions burnt the winter before.

"Besides that, they were strangely perplexed with the great and unseasonable cold they suffered with that extremity, as the like hath not been heard of since, and it seems was universal, it being the same year that our Thames was so locked up that they built their boats upon it, and sold provisions of several sorts to those that delighted in the novelties of the times. But the miseries they had past were nothing to that they suffered by the disastrous news they received of the death of the Lord Chief Justice, that suddenly followed the death of their president; but the latter was not so strange, in that he was well stricken in years before he went, and had long been an infirm man. Howsoever heartened by hopes, willing he was to die in acting something that might be serviceable to God, and honorable to his country, but that of the death of the Chief Justice was such a corrosive to all as struck them with despair of future remedy, and it was the more augmented, when they heard of the [death of] Sir John Gilbert, elder brother of Ralph Gilbert\* that was then their president, a man worthy to be beloved of them all for his industry and care for their well being. The president was to return to settle the estate his brother had left him, upon which all resolved to quit the place, and with one consent to [come] away, by which means all our former hopes were frozen to death, though Sir Francis Popham could not so give it over, but continued to send thither several years after in hope of better fortunes, but found it fruitless, and was necessitated at last to sit down with the loss he had already undergone.

"Although I was interested in all those misfortunes, and found it wholly given over by the body of the adventurers, as well for that they had lost the principal support of the design, as also that the country itself was branded by the return of the plantation, as being over-cold, and in respect of that, not habitable by our nation.

"Besides, they understood it to be a task too great for particular persons to undertake, though the country itself, the rivers, havens, harbors, upon that coast might in time prove profitable to us.

"These last acknowledgments bound me confidently to prosecute my first resolution, not doubting but God would effect that which man despaired of, as for those reasons, the causes of others' discouragements, the first only was given to me, in that I had lost so noble a friend, and my nation so worthy a subject. As for the coldness of the clime, I had had too much experience in the world to be frightened with such a blast, as knowing many great kingdoms and large territories more northerly seated, and by many degrees colder than the clime from whence they came, yet plentifully inhabited, and divers of them stored with no better commodities from trade and commerce than those parts afforded, if like industry, art, and labor be used, for the last I had no reason greatly to despair of means when God should be pleased, by our ordinary frequenting that country, to make it appear, it would

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\* Rawley Gilbert. — B. F. D.

yield both profit and content to as many as aimed thereat, these being truly, for the most part, the motives that all men labor, howsoever otherwise adjoined, with fair colors and goodly shadows."

*From "A Brief Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England." London, 1622, pp. 2-4.\**

"Hereupon Captain Popham, Captain Rawley Gilbert, and others were sent away with two ships and an hundred landmen, ordnance, and other provisions necessary for their sustentation and defence, until other supply might be sent. In the mean while, before they could return, it pleased God to take from us this worthy member, the Lord Chief Justice, whose sudden death did so astonish the hearts of the most part of the adventurers, as some grew cold, and some did wholly abandon the business. Yet Sir Francis Popham, his son, certain of his private friends, and other of us, omitted not the next year, holding on our first resolution, to join in sending forth a new supply, which was accordingly performed.

"But the ships arriving there did not only bring uncomfortable news of the death of the Lord Chief Justice, together with the death of Sir John Gilbert, the elder brother unto Captain Rawley Gilbert, who at that time was president of that council, but found that the old Captain Popham was also dead; who was the only man, indeed, that died there that winter, wherein they endured the greater extremities; for that in the depth thereof, their lodgings and stores were burnt, and they thereby wondrously distressed.

"This calamity and evil news, together with the resolution that Captain Gilbert was forced to take for his own return (in that he was to succeed his brother in the inheritance of his lands in England), made the whole company to resolve upon nothing but their return with the ships; and for that present to leave the country again, having in the time of their abode there (notwithstanding the coldness of the season, and the small help they had), built a pretty bark of their own, which served them to good purpose, as easing them in their returning.

"The arrival of these people here in England was a wonderful discouragement to all the first undertakers, insomuch as there was no more speech of settling any other plantation in those parts for a long time after; only Sir Francis Popham having the ships and provision which remained of the company, and supplying what was necessary for his purpose, sent divers times to the coasts for trade and fishing; of whose loss or gains himself is best able to give account.

\* After relating the sending out of Captain Henry Challons, whose voyage was "overthrown"; and the despatch of Captain Thomas Hanam, to "second" Challons, who could not be found; and that the Lord Chief Justice Popham, and his associates, on Hanam's favorable report of the country, "waxed so confident of the business, that the year following every man of any worth, formerly interested in it, was willing to join in the charge for sending over a competent number of people to lay the ground of a hopeful plantation," the narrative proceeds as above. — B. F. D.

"Our people abandoning the plantation in this sort as you have heard, the Frenchmen immediately took the opportunity to settle themselves within our limits." \*

*From Captain John Smith's "Generall Historie of New England," fol. London, 1624, pp. 203, 204.*

"Concerning this History you are to understand the letters-patents granted by his Majesty in 1606, for the limitation of Virginia, did extend from 34° to 44°, which was divided in two parts; namely, the first colony and the second. The first was to the honorable city of London, and such as would adventure with them to discover and take their choice where they would, betwixt the degrees of 34 and 41. The second was appropriated to the cities of Bristol, Exeter, and Plimoth, &c., and the west parts of England, and all those that would adventure and join with them, and they might make their choice anywhere betwixt the degrees of 38 and 44, provided there should be at least one hundred miles distance betwixt these two colonies, each of which had laws, privileges, and authority for the government, and advancing their several plantations alike. Now this part of America hath formerly been called Norumbega, Virginia, Nuskoncus, Penaquida, Cannada, and such other names as those that ranged the coast pleased. But because it was so mountainous, rocky, and full of isles, few have adventured much to trouble it, but as is formerly related; notwithstanding, that honorable patron of virtue, Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice of England, in the year 1606, procured means and men to possess it, and sent Captain George Popham for President; Captain Rawley Gilbert for Admiral; Captain Edward Harlow, Master of the Ordnance; Captain Robert Davis, Sergeant-Major; Captain Elis Best, Marshal; Master Seaman, Secretary; Captain James Davis to be Captain of the Fort; Master Gome Carew, Chief Searcher. All those were of the Council, who, with some hundred more, were to stay in the country. They set sail from Plimouth the last of May, and fell with Monahigan the 11th of August. At Sagadahock, nine or ten leagues southward, they planted themselves at the mouth of a fair, navigable river, but the coast all thereabouts most extreme stony and rocky; that extreme frozen winter was so cold they could not range nor search the country, and their provision so small, they were glad to send all but forty-five of their company back again. Their noble president, Captain Popham, died, and not long after arrived two ships well provided of all necessities to supply them, and some small time after another,† by whom under-

\* The narrative then proceeds to speak of Argall's expedition, in which he proceeded "to displace" the Frenchmen who had built forts at "Mount Mansell, Saint Croix, and Port Reall."—B. F. D.

† Strachey, p. 179, speaks of but one ship returning to the colony with supplies, that commanded by Captain (Robert) Davies, adding, that in this ship and the new pinnace, the "Virginia," the colony "all embarked" for England.—B. F. D.

standing of the death of the Lord Chief Justice, and also of Sir John Gilbert, whose lands there the president, Rawley Gilbert, was to possess, according to the adventurer's directions, finding nothing but extreme extremities, they all returned for England in the year 1608, and thus this plantation was begun and ended in one year, and the country esteemed as a cold, barren, mountainous, rocky desert."

*From Purchas's "Pilgrimage." London, 1614, p. 756.\**

"A. D. 1607, was settled a plantation in the River Sagadahoc; the ships called the "Gift" and the "Mary and John,"† being sent thither by that famous English Justicer, Sir John Popham, and others. They found this coast of Virginia full of islands, but safe. They chose the place of their plantation at the mouth of Sagadahoc, in a westerly peninsula: there heard a sermon, read their patent and laws, and built a fort. They sailed up to discover the river and country, and encountered with an island where was a great fall of water, over which they hauled their boat with a rope, and came to another fall, shallow, swift, and unpassable. They found the country stored with grapes, white and red, good hops, onions, garlic, oaks, walnuts, the soil good. The head of the river is in forty-five and odd minutes. Cape Sinieamis in 43° 30', a good place to fortify. Their fort bare name of Saint George. Forty-five remained there,‡ Captain George Popham being President, Raleigh Gilbert, Admiral. The people seemed affected with our men's devotions, and would say King James is a good king, his God a good God, and Tanto naught. So they call an evil spirit which haunts them every moon, and makes them worship him for fear. He commanded them not to dwell near or come among the English, threatening to kill some and inflict sickness on others, beginning with two of their Sagamos children, saying he had power, and would do the like to the English the next moon, to wit, in December.

"The people§ told our men of cannibals, near Sagadahoc, with teeth three inches long, but they saw them not. In the river of Tamescot they found oysters nine inches in length; and were told that on the other side there were twice as great. On the 18th of January they had, in seven hours' space, thunder, lightning, rain, frost, snow, all in abundance, the last continuing. On February 5 the president died. The savages remove their dwellings in winter nearest the deer. They have a kind of shoes a yard long, fourteen inches broad, made like a racket, with strong twine or sinews of a deer; in the midst is a hole wherein they put their foot, buckling it fast. When a Sagamos dieth they black themselves, and at the same time yearly renew their mourning with great howling; as they then did for Kashurakeny, who

\* In the margin of the book from which this account is taken, Purchas places his authorities. We have therefore placed these names at foot, leading from the words in the text as they are given in Purchas. — B. F. D.

† James Davies.

‡ Jo. Eliot. G. Pop. Let. to S. I. Gilbert and E. S.

§ Ral. Gilbert.

died the year before. They report that the cannibals have a sea behind them. They found a bath two miles about, so hot that they could not drink it. Mr. Patteson was slain by the savages of Nanhoc, a river of the Tarentines. Their short commons\* caused fear of mutiny. One of the savages, called Aminquin, for a straw hat and knife given him, stripped himself of his clothing of beaver's skins, worth in England fifty shillings or three pounds, to present them to the president, leaving only a flap to cover his privities. He would also have come with them for England. In winter they are poor† and weak, and do not then company with their wives, but in summer when they are fat and lusty. But your eyes wearied with this Northern view, which in that winter communicated with us in extremity of cold, look now for greater hopes in the Southern Plantation, as the right arm of this Virginian body, with greater costs and numbers furnished from hence."‡

*From Sir William Alexander's "Encouragement to Colonies," &c.  
London, 1624, p. 30. §*

"That which is now called New England was first comprehended within the patent of Virginia, being the north-east part thereof. It was undertaken in a patent by a company of gentlemen in the west of England, one of whom was Sir John Popham, then chief justice, who sent the first company that went of purpose to inhabit there near to Sagadahoc; but those that went thither, being pressed to that enterprise, as endangered by the law, or by their own necessities (no enforced thing proving pleasant, discontented persons suffering, while as they act can seldom have good success and never satisfaction), they after a winter stay, dreaming to themselves of new hopes at home, returned back with the first occasion, and to justify the suddenness of their return, they did coin many excuses, burdening the bounds where they had been with all the aspersions that possibly could devise, seeking by that means to discourage all others, whose provident forwardness importuning a good success, might make their base sluggishness for abandoning the beginning of a good work to be the more condemned."

\* Edward Harley.

† Other notes ap. Hak.

‡ This extract was first published in this, the second edition, of the "Pilgrimage"; also in the third edition, 1617, and in the fourth, 1626. A copy of this last edition usually accompanies the four volumes of Purchas's "Pilgrimage," London, 1625, another work, and is commonly cited as vol. v. of that book.—B. F. D.

§ In printing this extract from Sir William Alexander, we would remark, that the phrase "endangered by the law," might refer to poor debtors, and does not necessarily imply that the Sagadahoc colonists, or any part of them, were criminals. We have seen no evidence that they bore that character, and no laws existed at that time authorizing the transportation of criminals to Virginia.—B. F. D.



## JUNE MEETING, 1880.

The stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 10th instant, at 3 o'clock P.M.; the President, Mr. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the previous meeting, and it was approved.

The Librarian read the monthly list of donors to the Library. He called attention to an important work by an associate member, the Rev. Dr. H. M. Dexter, an early copy of whose "Congregationalism as seen in its Literature," was presented just before the meeting.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter from Dr. Alfred L. Elwyn, of Philadelphia, accepting membership in the Society.

The Cabinet-keeper reported that he had hung several portraits upon the walls of the staircase to the Society's rooms, it having been thought wise to display in this way some of the interesting pictures in our collection. As long as the exigencies of the Society required the Cabinet to be kept in an upper room, it was not to be expected that any large number of persons would visit it. The portraits now exhibited included, among others, those of Vespuccius, Sebastian Cabot, John Endicott, Governor Winthrop, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Edward Winslow, Dudley, Hutchinson, Pownall, Washington, and Lafayette.

The President then announced the death of a Corresponding Member, as follows:—

Edmund B. O'Callaghan, M.D., LL.D., was born in Ireland. After studying for two years in Paris he came over to Canada, where he was a member of the Provincial Assembly, and the editor of a newspaper. Having been concerned in the revolutionary movements of 1837, he removed to New York, where he devoted himself to historical pursuits. He published a History of the New Netherlands, in two volumes, in 1846-48, and afterward edited four volumes of the Documentary History of the State in 1849-51, and in 1855-61 eleven volumes of Documents relating to New York Colonial History. His name is also associated with many translations, and reprints of rare historical tracts. He died at about 77 or 78 years of age, having accomplished a large and valuable work for American history.



John C. Ropes, Esq., of Boston, and Paul A. Chadbourne, President of Williams College, were elected Resident Members.

The Society voted to subscribe £20 toward a proposed memorial to Sir Walter Raleigh, whose grave in St. Margaret's, Westminster, is marked only by an insignificant brass. It had been suggested by Canon Farrar that a window in memory of Raleigh would be an appropriate tribute from Americans, in whose history his name occupies so prominent a place. A letter from Canon Farrar was read, and a subscription paper started by American residents in London exhibited. The project excited considerable interest among the members present, and the President was requested to bring the matter to the attention of other historical societies. The subscription paper was committed to the Treasurer for the gifts of individual members.

It was agreed to omit the stated meetings for July and August, authority being reserved, however, to the President and Secretary to call a special meeting at any time during these months, if they deemed one expedient.

Professor EDWARD J. YOUNG presented a paper on the "Subjects for Master's Degree in Harvard College from 1655 to 1791," prefacing it with the following remarks:—

The subjects discussed at Cambridge by candidates for the degree of Master of Arts, in the century and a half preceding our own, seem not to have attracted the attention of those who have described the ceremonies at Commencement, or who have written the history of the College. A single order of exercises, with a parallel English version, reprinted from the American Magazine and Historical Chronicle of 1743, is given in the Appendix to Peirce's History of Harvard University (pp. 111-113); and four similar ones are published, in the original Latin, in Sibley's Biographical Sketches of Harvard Graduates (vol. i. pp. 322, 358, 488, 593). With these exceptions, the pieces referred to have remained undisturbed in the dead language in which they were written, and no one, so far as I am aware, has made a collection, translation, and classification of them. This is not a little surprising, since several of them bear the names of men who have become famous in the history of the country, and since they throw such light on the character and spirit, the thought and temper of their time. It is surely interesting to know what themes engaged the minds of scholars who lived in the days of the Colony and the Province, as

well as of those who were to take part in the Revolutionary struggle, some of whom afterward received the highest honors in the gift of the people. It is likewise important, in an historical point of view, to note what views were adopted at successive periods on political, social, scientific, and other questions, and to mark the progress which has since been made.

The earliest programme which has been preserved bears the date of 1655, thirty-five years after the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth; and we are carried back by it, and by those that follow, to an age when the Commonwealth was in its infancy, and when topics were discussed before public assemblies which appear almost infantile to us. Then the opinion was entertained that there really was a philosopher's stone, that it was possible to square the circle, and that the planets exerted an influence on terrestrial objects. Though astrology was on the wane, questions relating to divination were still debated, alchemy had not given place to chemistry, and modern science had not yet been born. Men argued whether the earth moved, and whether it was the centre of the universe. In medicine, it was taught that a wound could be cured by dressing the implement that caused it. The Bible, literally interpreted, was the rule of faith in regard to all matters. Theological subjects predominated, because the training of ministers was one of the chief objects for which the College had been founded, dedicated, as it was, "to Christ and the Church." The first settlers were Calvinists, who believed in a church without a bishop, and who subsequently demanded a state without a king; and they were vehemently opposed to the Episcopalians and Roman Catholics on the one hand, and to the Baptists on the other. We smile as we read some of the inquiries that were proposed, and some of the answers that were given. But the speakers merely represented the period in which they lived, and two hundred years hence some of the theories which are now popular may seem equally fantastic, and may afford as much merriment to our descendants as those of our ancestors do to us. Our forefathers contended for what they deemed vital and essential, and they were animated by a pure and lofty purpose to promote the highest welfare of the people.

We can trace unmistakably, however, in the titles of these essays, a marked progress, bearing witness to a steadily increasing enlightenment as the years went on. A thesis which was defended by one speaker is afterward controverted by another, and a judgment which was maintained in one age is

at a later period reversed. With altered circumstances there came naturally an altered state of opinion on many questions. What appeared reasonable and fit in the "day of small things," was rejected as inadequate or inexpedient when the community had increased in power and wealth. Especially do we see this larger spirit of tolerance and catholicity in the religious questions that were propounded. Even when the doctrine remained unchanged, theological asperities were softened; and, as the war for national independence drew near, men were less disposed to berate each other, since they were all preparing to engage in a contest with the common enemy.

Inasmuch as the views put forth by these disputants on theological and other subjects were extremely conservative, it is remarkable that they held and advocated such advanced sentiments about matters pertaining to political science. In the beginning, they did not doubt that a monarchical form of government was the best; and we know that the leaders of the Revolution did not at the outset contemplate that the Colonies should be entirely independent of the mother country.\* Afterward, however, when abuses increased, men went back to first principles; they inquired into the origin and basis of civil government, the foundation and justification of hereditary royalty, and particularly "the right divine of kings to govern wrong." We gather from these pieces hints as to the difficulties which they encountered, especially those arising from the over-supply of paper money, and we see also the brave and resolute spirit which controlled them and which enabled them finally to surmount all obstacles. The eloquence of these brief texts enables us in a measure to conceive what patriotic appeals were subsequently made by these stirring champions of liberty, and causes us the more deeply to regret that their dissertations have not been preserved to us.

Among the papers, prepared for these occasions, the titles of which arrest attention, are those relating to the Hebrew language, which even in its punctuation is declared to be of divine origin, and which, it is maintained, will be spoken by the saints in heaven. Since for a long time all undergraduates were compelled to acquire a knowledge of this tongue

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\* John Adams was in favor at first only of a temporary independence, to be surrendered again by treaty in case safety, liberty, and peace could be obtained upon honorable terms; and he said that about a third of the people were opposed to the Revolution. 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iv. pp. 550, 506.

so as to be able to read the Old Testament in the original, (which was necessary in order that they might receive their first degree,) and since a Hebrew oration was annually delivered at Commencement even down to the year 1817, it has been a matter of surprise and wonder to those who know how this study is generally regarded, that such a requisition could be enforced, and that such a general interest could be awakened and sustained in this department of learning. It appears, however, from the diaries and written recollections — which may be regarded as partaking of the nature of private confessions — of the instructors, that this was far from being to all a fascinating or favorite study. Michael Wigglesworth, who taught in 1653, writes: —

August 29: "My pupils all came to me y<sup>s</sup> day to desire yy might ceas learning Hebrew: I w<sup>th</sup>stood it w<sup>th</sup> all y<sup>e</sup> reasō I could, yet all will not satisfy y<sup>n</sup> thus am I requited for my love; & thus little fruit of all my prayers & tears for y<sup>t</sup> good."

August 30: "God appear'd somew<sup>t</sup> in inclining y<sup>e</sup> sp<sup>t</sup> of my pupils to y<sup>e</sup> study of Hebrew as I had pray'd y<sup>t</sup> god would do."

March 7: "I was much pplexed in mind w<sup>th</sup> many thoughts to & fro, about leaving y<sup>e</sup> colledge, one while ready to resolv upō it almost, and quite another way; & I know not w<sup>t</sup> to do, how to live here & keep a good cōsciēce bec. my hands are bound in point of reforming disorders; my own weakness & pupils froward negligēce in y<sup>e</sup> Hebrew stil much exercise me. yet for all this trouble god hath bin w<sup>th</sup> me in my psonal studys; for this day I began & finished all y<sup>t</sup> p<sup>t</sup> of my synopsis w<sup>ch</sup> treats about Method."\*

Sidney Willard, who was Professor from 1807 to 1831, writes to the same effect: —

"My Hebrew classes were small, much as they had been in past times. In translating a Hebrew word, the eyes of a pupil would sometimes wander, and seize upon the wrong Latin word in the margin for its meaning, producing a ludicrous effect. One of the students, a grave youth, who never meant to do anything wrong, acquired the habit of translating the Hebrew word Jehovah into Jupiter.

"I suppose there were and are scholars who might excite some zeal in the study of the Oriental languages; but the general impression is, and ever has been, at our University, that the value of such learning does not repay the labor and pains necessary to be undergone in its acquirement. I once asked Professor Stuart whether there were many good Hebrew scholars in his classes, and his reply was emphatically and in substance, *Very few.*"†

\* Sibley, *Harv. Graduates*, vol. i. pp. 265-268.

† *Memories of Youth and Manhood*, 1855, vol. ii. pp. 201, 202.

The themes which are brought together in the following pages are in the original expressed in mediæval and modern Latin, and the parts were delivered in the afternoon of Commencement day by those who three years before had been graduated from the College, the exercises of the candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Arts occupying the forenoon. It is impossible that all the dissertations of the former, printed on the programme, should have been actually spoken, since the number of them in some instances exceeds thirty, and in one case reaches forty-five; and, although our fathers were accustomed to long sermons and long prayers, they would hardly have listened patiently to so many treatises, on such abstract and technical topics, written in a foreign idiom, and pronounced on a midsummer day, after they had already attended the formal exercises of the morning. President Joseph Willard states that there was seldom an opportunity for more than two or three candidates to speak, because much of the time was taken up in giving the degrees. The order of exercises with the names of the speakers was printed on one side of a quarto or folio sheet, the heading of which was *Questiones pro Modulo Discutiendæ in Comitiiis Publicis a Laureæ Magistralis Candidatis*;\* and the proceedings were concluded with an *Oratio Gratulatoria* or *Valedictoria*. Many of the questions which were then discussed have now ceased to be of any general or special interest; and the extracts which are here given are such as are most important and characteristic, either from the nature of the subject or the renown of the author, and such as, with the accompanying notes, present a faithful picture of the times.

*Questions relating to Society and the State.*

Is temporal dominion founded in grace?

Neg. 1692, 1697, 1700, 1715.

Can Jesuits be good subjects?

Neg. 1697.

Is a monarchical government the best?

Aff. 1698.

Should beggars be tolerated in a state?

Neg. 1698.

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\* From 1655 to 1668 the title was *Questiones in Philosophia*; and from 1656 to 1694, *Per Inceptores in Artibus*. After 1700 the formula above given was adopted, and was generally used until the end of the century.

Are the Americans Israelites?\*

Neg. 1699.

Is want the bond of human society?

Aff. 1704.

Are Christian kings the guardians of both tables of the divine law?

Aff. 1711, 1723.

Is it possible that dominion can be acquired without possession?

Neg. 1713.

Should the oath of fidelity to lay magistrates be taken by the clergy as well as by the laity?

Aff. 1714.

Is the royal power absolutely by divine right?

Neg. 1723.

Does a college education incapacitate a man for commercial life?

Neg. 1724.

Is agriculture the most honorable of all secular employments?

Aff. 1725, 1755.

Is civil government originally founded on the consent of the people?

Aff. 1725.

Can the price of articles for sale be regulated by law?

Aff. 1725.

Is a knowledge of military affairs desirable and praiseworthy in any member of a college?

Aff. 1727.

Does the issue of paper money contribute to the public good?

Aff. 1728.

Is agriculture unbecoming a gentleman?

Neg. 1728.

Is the importation of goods which are much more valuable than those which are exported detrimental to the state?

Aff. 1729, 1734, 1748, 1786.

Are polished manners an ornament to a man?

Aff. 1729.

Is unlimited obedience to rulers taught by Christ and his apostles?

Neg. 1729.

Is a college education of service to one who travels?

Aff. 1730. Thomas Hutchinson.†

Is the voice of the people the voice of God?

Aff. 1733.

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\* A similar question has of late been agitated in Great Britain, and many pamphlets relating to it have been issued, of which the following is a specimen: "181st Thousand. Forty-seven Identifications of the British Nation with the Lost House of Israel; showing the tribe of Dan to have settled in North Ireland, the Welsh to be a tribe of Israel, the people of South Ireland to be the Canaanites, America to be identical with the nation of Manasseh."

† In 1760 chief justice and in 1771 governor of the Province of Massachusetts. He published the History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. 2 vols. 1764, 1767.

Is the constant depreciation of paper money most disastrous to commerce?

Aff. 1734.

Can a magistrate lawfully prevent subjects from carrying on business on any day of the week except the first?

Aff. 1734.

Does a diminution of the rate of interest increase the price of real estate?

Aff. 1736.

Is the manufacture of articles from foreign materials profitable to the state?

Aff. 1736.

Is civil government more favorable to human liberty than entire freedom from legal restriction?

Aff. 1737.

Should homicide always and necessarily be punished with death?

Neg. 1737.

Is the abundance of paper money, received from the neighboring Colony, a serious hindrance to our commerce?

Aff. 1738.

Are we bound to observe the mandates of kings, unless they themselves keep their agreements with their subjects?

Neg. 1738.

Is an absolute and arbitrary monarchy contrary to right reason?

Aff. 1760.

Is agriculture a greater benefit to the state than commerce?

Aff. 1742, 1751, 1753, 1773, 1785, 1786, 1787.

Is it lawful to resist the supreme magistrate, if the commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved?

Aff. 1743. Samuel Adams.\*

Does civil government originate from compact?

Aff. 1743, 1747, 1751, 1761, 1762.

Is the cultivation of commerce of more benefit to the state than that of science?

Aff. 1747.

Does commutative justice demand equality between labor and wages?†

Aff. 1748, 1765.

Is war, or the continuance of war, safer than a doubtful peace?

Aff. 1751.

Does the multiplication of laws tend to the advantage of lawyers, rather than of the state?

Aff. 1753.

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\* He organized the Revolution, and in 1794 was governor of Massachusetts.

† Commutative justice is "that justice which supposes exchange of things profitable for things profitable; that as I supply your need, you may supply mine; as I do a benefit to you, I may receive one by you." Jeremy Taylor, Works, vol. iv. p. 143.



Are the calumniators of the commonwealth more injurious than the smugglers of merchandise?

Aff. 1753.

Would the advice of Paul to Timothy to "use a little wine," bring him under the power of the tavern-keepers?

Neg. 1754.

Is an inconvenient harbor as great a hindrance to commerce as a predatory war?

Aff. 1758.

Is civil government absolutely necessary for men?

Aff. 1758. John Adams.\*

Is the man who has an ardent passion for accumulating riches a greater injury to the state than a spendthrift?

Aff. 1761.

Has the legislature of a kingdom the right to change the established mode of legislation?

Neg. 1765.

Can the new prohibitory duties, which make it useless for the people to engage in commerce, be evaded by them as faithful subjects?

Aff. 1765. Elbridge Gerry.†

Are mechanics more useful to a commercial state than farmers?

Aff. 1766.

Is it legal, under the British government, to collect taxes by military force?

Neg. 1766.

Does a promise that has been given bind the highest magistrate in a civil government?

Aff. 1767. Caleb Strong.‡

Is an inferior magistrate obliged to execute the orders of his superior, when they would plainly subvert the commonwealth?

Neg. 1768.

Is a just government the only stable foundation of public peace?

Aff. 1769. William Pepperell.§

Are the people the sole judges of their rights and liberties?

Aff. 1769.

Is a government tyrannical in which the rulers consult their own interest more than that of their subjects?

Aff. 1770.

\* In 1789 the first vice-president, and in 1797 the second president of the United States.

† One of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, governor of Massachusetts in 1810, and vice-president of the United States in 1812.

‡ From 1789 to 1796 a senator in Congress; from 1800 to 1807 and from 1812 to 1816 governor of Massachusetts.

§ A grandson of the first Sir William, he inherited the title. His mother's name was Sparhawk, and by the terms of his grandfather's will he was required to procure an act of the Legislature to drop the name of Sparhawk and assume that of Pepperell. Sabine, *Loyalists*, vol. ii. p. 168.

Is a government despotic in which the people have no check on the legislative power?

Aff. 1770.

Does commerce, which is carried on with different countries, tend especially to the corruption of morals?

Aff. 1772.

Is the diffusion of knowledge among all the citizens necessary to the existence of the republic?

Aff. 1781.

Is the federal system the best fitted, above all other human institutions, for fighting a royal tyrant?

Aff. 1781. George Richards Minot.\*

Is public virtue the best security of republican liberty?

Aff. 1781.

Is commerce in a republic worthy of the attention of the aristocracy?

Aff. 1784.

Although commerce produces luxury, should it be restricted in a rising republic?

Neg. 1784.

Ought the citizens of a republic to be compelled to accept and fill offices of public service?

Aff. 1784. Samuel Dexter.†

Does a popular form of government contribute more than any other to promote the art of public speaking?

Aff. 1785.

Should the friends of liberty desire that the ambassadors of the United States of America should be invested with more ample authority?

Aff. 1785.

Is it in the highest degree dangerous to the liberty of the citizens for legislators to hold the judicial office?

Aff. 1786.

Would the introduction among the people, by order of the legislature, of bills promising the public money to those who hold them, and which are to be received instead of silver and gold coin, tend to the corruption of private morals?

Aff. 1786.

Does a democratic form of government contribute more than any other to preserve the liberty of the people?

Aff. 1786.

Is paper money the root of all evils?‡

Aff. 1787.

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\* A jurist and historian, he delivered an oration on the Boston Massacre in 1782, and published a History of Massachusetts Bay in continuation of Governor Hutchinson's.

† Senator in Congress in 1798, he was appointed secretary of war in 1800 and secretary of the treasury of the United States in 1801.

‡ In consequence of the great depreciation of the currency attendant upon the over-issue of paper money, a ream of paper at this time cost \$500, and a quill cost \$1.50. "Our experience of such evils, great as they have been, is

Is the distrust of governors in a democracy the cause of more good than evil?

Aff. 1787.

Is it contrary to the principles of civil liberty to deprive subjects of the privilege of appeal from one court to another in judicial cases?

Aff. 1787.

Is it more necessary in a republic than in any other form of government that young men should be instructed in political science?

Aff. 1788.

Are Americans to be held in as much admiration for voluntarily delegating their own power to the Federal Congress, as for vindicating their liberties against the tyranny of Great Britain?

Aff. 1788.

Can any republic subsist long unless the parts of which it is composed are in equilibrium?

Neg. 1789.

Does luxury tend greatly to contaminate the people and to destroy the republic?

Aff. 1789.

Do Americans give sufficient attention to domestic commerce?

Neg. 1789.

*Questions relating to Philosophy.*

Can every perfect being be perfectly defined?

Aff. 1655.

Did primitive matter have form?

Neg. 1655.

Are intelligences composed of matter?

Aff. 1656.

Is form derived from the power of matter?

Neg. 1659.

Is privation a cause of anything in nature? \*

Neg. 1659.

Is the act of creation eternal?

Aff. 1660. Neg. 1755, 1763.

Is there a concurrence of the first cause with the second in every action?

Aff. 1660, 1715.

Is any created substance immaterial?

Neg. 1665.

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hardly sufficient to enable us to comprehend the miseries of our fathers, under the blighting influence of that deluge of continental and provincial paper, which seemed to sweep off, in its progress, the whole property of the community." Samuel A. Eliot, *Sketch of the History of Harvard College*, 1848, pp. 86-88.

\* Cold may be said to be caused by the absence of heat; but can this absence, which is merely a privation, be regarded as a positive cause?

- Is all good necessarily self-communicative?  
 Aff. 1668.
- Does the will always follow the last dictate of the intellect?  
 Neg. 1676. Aff. 1686, 1692, 1700, 1716, 1722, 1730.
- Does *genus* exist outside the intellect?  
 Aff. 1682.
- Is Pneumatics a science distinct from Metaphysics and Theology?  
 Aff. 1688, 1709, 1715.
- Is doubt the beginning of all indubitable philosophy? \*  
 Aff. 1690.
- Does extension belong to spirits?  
 Aff. 1694, 1703. Neg. 1725.
- Can an injury be done to one who is willing to suffer it?  
 Aff. 1704.
- Is there a *summum malum*?  
 Neg. 1709, 1715.
- Is the object-matter or material of sin metaphysically good, morally indifferent? †  
 Aff. 1720.
- Is physical necessity essentially different from moral necessity?  
 Aff. 1729.
- Do synonymous words often bring in a difference of ideas?  
 Aff. 1730.
- Is the pleasure of reflection equal to fruition?  
 Neg. 1733.
- Can independent beings be created by God?  
 Neg. 1734.
- Does a cause exist necessarily prior to its effect? ‡  
 Neg. 1740. Aff. 1748.
- Do all things, according to their nature, continue in the same state forever?  
 Aff. 1740.
- Is the spirit of man distinct from his soul?  
 Aff. 1758.
- Are the feelings the medium between nature and human knowledge?  
 Aff. 1759.
- Can thought originate from matter, however modified?  
 Neg. 1761.
- Is metaphysical infinity to be distinguished from mathematical infinity?  
 Aff. 1761.

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\* "As I desired," says Descartes, "to give my attention solely to the search after truth, I thought that I ought to reject as absolutely false all opinions in regard to which I could suppose the least ground for doubt, in order to ascertain whether after that there remained aught in my belief that was wholly indubitable." *Discours de la Méthode*, 1637.

† Are the material objects with which sin is committed in themselves good, and as to their moral character indifferent?

‡ Does anything have necessary existence as a cause, until it has actually been followed by an effect?

Is it possible for the will to choose either of two things, both of which are equally good?

Neg. 1768.

Does man in a state of nature enjoy the greatest happiness?

Aff. 1781.

*Questions relating to Science.*

Is the starry heaven made of fire?

Aff. 1674.

Does a shadow move?

Neg. 1687.

Is there a stone that makes gold?

Aff. 1687.

Is the material of celestial and of terrestrial bodies one and the same?

Aff. 1688.

Does the diversification of bodies arise from motion?

Aff. 1688.

Does motion take place without a vacuum?

Aff. 1693.

Is the quadrature of the circle possible?

Aff. 1693.

Are atoms indivisible solely because they are imporous?

Aff. 1693.

Were comets created in the beginning?

Aff. 1703.

Can metals be changed into one another alternately?

Aff. 1703.

Is the magnetic power of the earth the principle of gravitation

Aff. 1708.

Are there perpendicular parallels?

Neg. 1713.

Is the earth the centre of the universe?

Neg. 1717.

Are luminous rays corporeal? \*

Aff. 1717.

Are the northern lights meteors?

Aff. 1722.

Do bodies, falling out of a right line to the centre, descend towards the east?

Aff. 1725.

Is there an immense space outside the world, which is eternal and necessarily existing?

Aff. 1729.

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\* The corpuscular theory of light is here maintained, although the undulatory theory was published in 1690.

When places are in the same latitude, is the shortest course from one to the other on the same parallel?

Neg. 1730.

Can the rising of vapors be explained by the principles of electricity?

Aff. 1740.

Was there a rainbow before the deluge?

Neg. 1759. Aff. 1766.

Do the spots which have been observed on the surface of the sun arise from volcanic eruptions?

Aff. 1761.

Does the pleasure of science consist more in acquiring than in possessing it?

Aff. 1762.

Do the heavenly bodies produce certain changes in the bodies of animals?

Aff. 1762.

Is the daily motion of the earth round its axis annually accelerated?

Aff. 1765.

Can vegetables be reduced to water by means of art and nature?

Aff. 1765.

Is the elasticity and consequently the salubrity of the air diminished by drawing electricity artificially from the clouds?

Aff. 1765.

Are all bodies (metals and stones not excepted) produced from seed?

Aff. 1767.

Are the particles of mercury smaller than those of any other known fluid?

Aff. 1767.

Does the state of the atmosphere, whether salubrious or otherwise, depend to a great degree on subterranean effluvia?

Aff. 1768.

Did the reptiles of America originate from those that were preserved by Noah?

Aff. 1769.

Are aquatic animals as liable to diseases as land animals?

Neg. 1770.

Is a comet, which only appears after many years, more a foreboding of divine wrath than a planet which rises daily?

Neg. 1770.

Can real gold be made by the art of chemistry?

Aff. 1771.

Is the sun inhabitable?

Aff. 1772. Theophilus Parsons.\*

\* He was chief justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts from 1806 to 1813.

The same view was advanced by Sir William Herschel, who imagined that in the solar atmosphere there was a double stratum of clouds, and that the lower stratum might be sufficiently dense to protect the surface of the sun from the excessive heat produced by combustion in the upper stratum, and thus render it a fit habitation for human beings.

Is the rarefaction of the atmosphere of comets, when they are nearest the sun, injurious to the birds that fly in it?

Aff. 1772.

Were the aborigines of America descended from Abraham?

Aff. 1773.

*Questions relating to Physiology and Medicine.*

Is there a circulation of the blood? [*An motus sanguinis sit circularis?*]

Aff. 1660, 1699.\*

Is heat essential to fever?

Neg. 1678.

Does the liver make blood?

Neg. 1678.

Is the cure of wounds by sympathetic powder lawful?

Aff. 1693, 1708.

Is there a magnetic method of curing wounds?

Aff. 1698.

Is the cure of diseases which is called characteristic, lawful?

Neg. 1698.

Is there a universal remedy?

Aff. 1698. Neg. 1761.

Are there diseases which are not cured by Galen's remedies, but only by chemical ones?

Aff. 1701.

Is there a sympathetic powder?†

Aff. 1703, 1708, 1710.

Do the moods of the mind follow the temperament of the body?

Aff. 1704.

Does the heart make blood?

Aff. 1710.

Does the motion of the heart take place through respiration?

Neg. 1713.

Are the natural capacities of men equal, and do they become different only in consequence of the different organs of their bodies?

Neg. 1722. Aff. 1741.

Is cold water the most efficacious of all means for removing fever?

Aff. 1723.

Ought physicians to pray for the health of the people?

Aff. 1724.

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\* Harvey's discovery of this fact was announced to the world in 1628.

† For a long time it was thought that the powder of sympathy of Sir Kenelm Digby would cure a wound by being applied to the weapon or instrument that produced it.



Is the inoculation of the small-pox [*variolarum transplantatio*] into human bodies lawful and safe? \*

Aff. 1724, 1784.

Should the fees of physicians on the Lord's day be counted as their own?

Neg. 1727. Aff. 1769.

Do medicinal herbs operate by planetary power?

Neg. 1728.

Does the pressure of the atmosphere assist the contraction of the chest in the act of expiration?

Neg. 1728.

Is there a duct which leads directly from the stomach to the urinary bladder?

Neg. 1730. Aff. 1731.

Are the cause and cure of all natural diseases mechanical?

Aff. 1731, 1747, 1758, 1762.

Are the contraction and enlargement of the glands the cause of all fevers?

Aff. 1731.

Is a temperate life the best medicine?

Aff. 1733.

Is the natural motion of the blood quickened, when progressive motion is slackened?

Aff. 1733.

Is digestion effected only by the gastric juice?

Neg. 1734.

Is the principal seat of the soul the sensorium?

Aff. 1736.

Was the eating of flesh a natural cause of the brevity of human life?

Aff. 1738.

Does the enlargement of the glands and pores of the skin, caused by small-pox, prevent the return of that disease?

Aff. 1738.

Should any one practise medicine before he has been approved by some competent persons?

Neg. 1741.

Are the motions and phenomena of the animal machine regulated by hydraulic and pneumatic laws?

Aff. 1742.

Is the cure of pleurisy best accomplished by bleeding?

Aff. 1742.

Is the dissolving of solids in the stomach brought about by attraction?

Aff. 1743.

Is the color of the Indians the original color of man?

Aff. 1744.

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\* Small-pox inoculation was introduced into Europe from Constantinople in 1718 by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Jenner's discovery of vaccination was made known in 1798.

Does the concurrence of the optic axes of both eyes of itself suffice to explain simple vision?

Neg. 1749.

Is Peruvian bark the best remedy in curing cases of mortification and gangrene?

Aff. 1756.

Do all diseases arise from obstructions?

Neg. 1762. Joseph Warren.\*

Did Adam have an umbilical cord?

Neg. 1765. Jeremy Belknap.†

Does by far the greatest part of the mass of the human body consist of fluids?

Aff. 1765.

Is the perspiration of the human body more acrid in summer than in winter?

Aff. 1766.

Is an excess of eating and drinking sometimes beneficial to the human body? ‡

Aff. 1767.

Is the toleration of quacks fatal to the people?

Aff. 1768.

Are any diseases conducive to longevity?

Aff. 1768.

Should the nervous fluid be called animal spirits?

Neg. 1769. Aff. 1781.

Is there a nervous fluid?

Aff. 1770.

Does insanity exist without bodily disease?

Neg. 1770.

Does the circulation of fluids in the capillary vessels depend absolutely on the motion of the heart?

Neg. 1770.

Is poison generated in the body without putrefaction?

Neg. 1771.

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\* His name appears with a simple Mr. in the class of 1759 in the Harvard College Catalogue. After graduating he studied medicine, was commissioned as major-general, and was killed in the battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775. "A man whose memory will be endeared to his countrymen and to the worthy in every part and age of the world, so long as virtue and valor shall be esteemed among mankind."

† He was pastor of the church in Long Lane (afterwards Federal Street) in Boston, in 1787, and founder of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1791. The subject which he discussed is treated by Sir Thomas Browne in his *Enquiries into Vulgar and Common Errors*, 1646, Book V. ch. 6. A portrait of Dr. Belknap, as well as of Governor Strong and Judge Minot, may be found in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, 1791-1835.

‡ The Boylston Medical Committee, appointed by the President and Fellows of Harvard University, have proposed a similar topic as the subject of a prize dissertation in 1882, viz.: "The Therapeutic Value of Food, administered against or beyond the Patient's Appetite and Inclination."

Is the motion of the muscles caused by the vibration of the nerves?

Aff. 1771.

Does the doctrine of Hippocrates concerning the crises of acute fevers agree with the medical observations which have been made in this climate?

Neg. 1772.

Does the power of the arteries alone produce a rarefaction of the blood?

Aff. 1773.

Does the construction of the organs of the body make all the difference between an idiot and a wise man?

Aff. 1773, 1786.

Is the inflation of the lungs by opening the windpipe the best method of resuscitating persons who have been drowned?

Aff. 1773.

Is the cessation of breathing and of the pulsation of the arteries a sure sign of death?

Neg. 1786.

Did the art of medicine ever restore the health of a body when the healing power of nature could not renew it?

Aff. 1788.

Is the headache ever an idiopathic disease? \*

Aff. 1788.

Can the whooping-cough affect a human body twice?

Neg. 1791.

#### *Questions relating to Law.*

Can an atheist appear in court?

Neg. 1690.

Is it lawful for a legatee by his own authority to take possession of a legacy?

Neg. 1722.

Is a lawyer justified in accepting a reward from the opposite party?

Neg. 1730.

Is extortion unbecoming a lawyer?

Aff. 1731.

Ought an advocate to be convinced that his client's cause is just, before he undertakes it?

Neg. 1733. Aff. 1789.

Is it right for an advocate to defend even a good cause by twisting the laws?

Neg. 1737.

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\* An idiopathic disease is one that is original and primary, belonging exclusively to the part affected, and not occasioned by any other disorder.

If Lazarus, by a will made before his death, had given away his property, could he have legally claimed it after his resurrection?

Neg. 1738, 1754, 1769.

Ought a judge to decide according to what has been alleged and proved, though it be contrary to his own personal knowledge?

Aff. 1761.

Is any one bound to accuse himself?

Neg. 1767.

Was the system of criminal jurisprudence among the ancient Egyptians more perfect than any that has existed in modern times? \*

Aff. 1772.

Are laws and lawyers united together by a certain common and indissoluble bond?

Aff. 1786. Harrison Gray Otis.†

*Questions relating to Ethics.*

Does virtue consist in taking a middle course between two extremes? ‡

[*An virtus consistat in mediocritate?*]

Neg. 1680. Aff. 1710, 1712, 1717.

Does a mistaken conscience compel one to sin?

Neg. 1680.

Are duels lawful?

Neg. 1690, 1705, 1709.

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\* "The principal court of judicature of ancient Egypt was composed of thirty persons, chosen for their merit from the three most celebrated cities of the kingdom, Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis, — ten from each. All proceedings were carried on in writing, that the decision might not be influenced by the arts of oratory, nor the stern impartiality of law be overcome by personal supplication. A collection of the laws in eight volumes lay before the judges; the plaintiff or accuser declared in writing how he had been injured, cited the portion of the law on which he relied, and laid the amount of his damages, or claimed the penalty which in his view the law awarded. The culprit, or defendant, replied in writing, point by point, denying the fact alleged, or showing that his act had not been unlawful, or that the penalty claimed was excessive. The plaintiff having rejoined, and the defendant replied again, the judges deliberated among themselves. A chain of gold and precious stones was worn by the president, to which an image of Thmei, the goddess of Truth, was attached, and he pronounced sentence by touching with this image the plaintiff's or defendant's pleadings. . . .

"The tradition that Lyeurgus, Solon, and Plato had borrowed from Egypt the laws of their real or imaginary states, is a proof of the high estimation in which these laws were held." — John Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. ii. pp. 42, 43.

† An orator and statesman, he was from 1796 to 1800 a representative, and from 1817 to 1823 a senator in Congress.

‡ "Virtue is a middle state between two vices, one in excess, the other in defect; virtue discovers the mean and chooses it." Aristotle, *Ethics*, Book II. ch. 6.

"Virtus est medium vitiorum, et utrinque reductum." Horace, *Epist.*, Book I. ep. 18.

- Does a good intention suffice to make an action good?  
Neg. 1692, 1716, 1743, 1755, 1791.
- Are divinations by the planets justifiable?  
Neg. 1694.
- Is it lawful to take any interest for the use of money? \*  
Aff. 1696.
- Are pious frauds, as they are called, unlawful?  
Aff. 1696.
- Are the virtues of the heathen genuine virtues?  
Neg. 1697.
- Can a man choose evil, as evil?  
• Neg. 1703, 1707.
- Do laws purely penal bind the conscience?  
Neg. 1704.
- Is falsehood, under any pretext, allowable?  
Neg. 1705, 1707, 1735, 1736.
- Is the power of sinning, liberty, or any part of liberty?  
Neg. 1718. Samuel Checkley.†
- Can anything that is injurious to society be advantageous to the individual?  
Neg. 1724.
- Is the marriage of cousins lawful?  
Aff. 1724.
- Is the eating of blood lawful? ‡  
Aff. 1724, 1735, 1741, 1761.
- Is it lawful to sell Africans?  
Neg. 1724.
- Is it wrong to smuggle goods, for the purpose of withholding revenue from the king?  
Aff. 1725.
- Is it always lawful to give and take the market price?  
Neg. 1725.
- Are all oaths obligatory?  
Neg. 1725.
- Is it lawful for any one to cheat a merchant who puts off upon him damaged goods?  
Neg. 1727.

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\* "In Lord Bacon's day and long before, there were many who held it absolutely sinful to receive any interest for money, on the ground of the prohibition of it to the Israelites in their dealings with each other." Richard Whately, Bacon's Essays with Annotations, pp. 390-396. For the most recent discussion of this subject see the article entitled "Usury — a Reply and a Rejoinder," by the Bishop of Manchester and John Ruskin, D. C. L., in the Contemporary Review for February, 1880, pp. 316-333.

† The first minister of the New South Church in Boston, in 1719.

‡ Genesis, ix. 4; Leviticus, xvii. 10-14; Deuteronomy, xii. 23-25; Acts, xv. 20; 1 Corinthians, x. 25.

Is it lawful for any one to do good works, with a view to a reward in heaven?

Aff. 1727, 1737.

Can riches give adequate satisfaction to the mind?

Neg. 1730.

Is it honorable for a private citizen to reject a challenge to a duel?

Aff. 1730, 1731.

Should the necessity of the buyer be taken advantage of by the seller?

Neg. 1731.

In judging between two parties, are not all persons just a little unfair?

Aff. 1731.

Would any one embrace virtue for itself, if its rewards were taken away?

Neg. 1731.

Can a person under certain circumstances refrain from sin?

Neg. 1731.

Does it necessarily give us pleasure to act according to what we judge will be for our own interest?

Neg. 1733.

Is it inconsistent in a just lawgiver to threaten punishment, and not inflict it, upon the violators of the laws?

Neg. 1734.

Did the suicide of Cato indicate pusillanimity, not courage?

Aff. 1738.

Is it right to condemn an individual to death for any crimes less heinous than those which are declared to be capital offences in the Mosaic law?

Aff. 1738.

After a war has been declared by the government, should every private citizen inquire into its causes, and perceive its equity, before he takes up arms?

Neg. 1738, 1740, 1754, 1768.

Does polygamy tend to the increase of the human race?

Neg. 1738, 1785.

Should every one be governed by the example of Agur, who prayed that he might be delivered alike from poverty and riches?

Neg. 1738.

Can it be proved that brutes are free from all moral obligation?

Neg. 1741.

Ought a son to deliver up his father, if that father should plot the ruin of his country? \*

Aff. 1741.

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\* "What if a father should endeavor to usurp tyrannic power, or to betray his country? Shall the son be silent? Nay, but he should implore his father not to do it. If he prevail not, he should reproach, — he should even threaten. If at last the matter should tend to the ruin of his country, he should prefer the safety of his country to that of his father." Cicero, Offices, Book III. ch. 23.

Was ostracism, as practised by the Athenians, fair and equitable?

Neg. 1741.

Did the heathen poets and philosophers derive their best precepts from the writings of Moses and the Prophets?

Aff. 1747.

Is matrimony necessary to the safety of the state?

Aff. 1755, 1762.

Is new and luxurious clothing an indication both of immorality and of a frivolous disposition? \*

Aff. 1755.

Is it lawful for one who has taken counterfeit money as genuine, after he has discovered the fact, to pass it as genuine?

Neg. 1755.

Is every war contrary to the law of Christian charity?

Neg. 1758.

Is submission to the inoculation of the small-pox consistent with the sixth commandment of the moral law?

Aff. 1761.

Is it lawful to subject Africans to perpetual bondage?

Neg. 1761.

Are the offspring of slaves born slaves?

Neg. 1766.

Is it a greater crime to kill one's self than to kill another?

Aff. 1767.

Does dancing promote softness and urbanity of manners?

Aff. 1768.

Are commercial contracts, which tend to the injury of the public, binding?

Neg. 1768.

Is capital punishment as effective in deterring men from crime, as sentence to hard labor for life?

Neg. 1769.

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\* In the early days of the Colony the wearing of lace and other superfluities was forbidden, as tending to "the nourishing of pride and exhausting of men's estates, and also of evil example to others." In 1754 a law was passed by the Corporation and Overseers of Harvard College, "requiring that on no occasion any of the scholars wear any gold or silver lace, or any gold or silver brocades, in the College or town of Cambridge; and that no one wear any silk night-gowns"; as being "not only an unnecessary expense, but also inconsistent with the gravity and demeanor proper to be observed in this society." Quincy, *History of Harv. Univ.*, vol. ii. p. 91.

In the letters of John Adams to his wife, speaking of the forces of the enemy, he says: "They think they have taken such measures, by circulating counterfeit bills, to depreciate the currency, that it cannot hold its credit longer than this campaign. But they are mistaken. We, however, must disappoint them by renouncing all luxuries and by a severe economy. If necessity should reduce us to a simplicity of dress and diet becoming republicans, it would be a happy and glorious necessity." "Luxury, wherever she goes, effaces from human nature the image of the Divinity. If I had power, I would forever banish and exclude from America all gold, silver, precious stones, alabaster, marble, silk, velvet, and lace." *Familiar Letters of John Adams and his Wife*, 1876, pp. 303, 334.



Is it unlawful to play cards?\*

Aff. 1770.

Can any one in good faith employ false arguments in order to persuade another to believe the truth?

Neg. 1772.

Would it be right for men to kill animals for food, if special permission had not been given by the Deity?

Neg. 1773.

Should that person intercede for the poor who refuses to extend his hand in charity?

Neg. 1773.

Does the effect of punishment depend on its certainty rather than on its severity?

Aff. 1781.

Does luxury retard the increase of the human race?

Aff. 1784.

Has any member of society the right to promote his own advantage, when it is opposed to the public good?

Neg. 1785.

Is wealth more conducive to virtue than poverty?

Aff. 1787.

#### *Questions relating to the Scriptures.*

Was the eclipse of the sun at the time of Christ's passion a natural occurrence?

Neg. 1678, 1708.

Are the Hebrew points of divine origin?

Aff. 1681. Cotton Mather.†

Is the Hebrew language the oldest of all?

Aff. 1693.

Have the original texts of the Bible come down to us pure and uncorrupted?

Aff. 1701.

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\* "There is, at the least, a great suspicion brought on the Lawfulness of these Games, by the Lottery, which they turn upon. Lots being mentioned in the sacred Oracles of the Scripture, as used only in weighty Cases, and as an Acknowledgment of God sitting in Judgment, with a desire of his Power and Providence to be manifested: They cannot be made the Tools and Parts of our common Sports, without at least such an appearance of Evil, as is forbidden in the word of God." Mather, *Magnalia*, Book V. p. 54.

† He was pastor of the North Church in Boston, in 1684; and author of *Magnalia Christi Americana*, Lond. 1702.

The doctrine of the primitive antiquity and divine authority of the Hebrew vowel-signs was maintained by the two Buxtorfs, father and son, as well as by almost all the orthodox divines of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; and in the second article of the creed of the Reformed Church of Switzerland (*Formula Consensus Helveticæ*) adopted in 1675, it is said that they were given by inspiration. Niemeyer, *Collectio Confessionum*, p. 731.

Was the destruction of the world by Noah's deluge brought about by natural causes?

Neg. 1703, 1712, 1724.

Was the confusion of tongues at Babel only a diversity of opinions?

Aff. 1707.

Has the Sabbath been observed from the creation of the world?

Aff. 1728.

Are there in the sacred Scriptures real contradictions which cannot in any way be explained?

Neg. 1730. Jonathan Trumbull.\*

When Balaam's ass spoke, was there any change in its organs?

Neg. 1731. Josiah Quincy.†

Did Abraham violate the sixth commandment when he offered Isaac in sacrifice?

Neg. 1732.

Is the fourth commandment of the Decalogue a part of the ceremonial law?

Neg. 1732.

Do all the prophecies of the Old Testament have a double meaning, referring in each case to two events?

Neg. 1734.

Did Jephtha sacrifice his daughter? ‡

Neg. 1736, 1767.

Can the pillar of fire and cloud, which directed the Israelites in their march through the desert, be explained by natural causes?

Neg. 1737.

Were Samson's foxes, as they are commonly called, animals? §

Neg. 1738. Sampson Sheafe.

Did Jacob's opposition to his wife while she was dying, in calling his son Benjamin when she had previously named him Benoni, proceed

\* Governor of Connecticut in 1769, he was re-elected to the same office for fourteen years. The term "Brother Jonathan," as a jocose synonym for the United States, is said to have come into use from having been an expression applied to him by Washington.

† Colonel Josiah Quincy, father of the distinguished orator and patriot, and grandfather of President Quincy.

"Impudent are those heathens that disbelieve and scoff at the scripture for this and some such relations contained in it, when there are examples of the same kind of prodigies, to wit, of oxen and other brute-creatures speaking some few words, in the greatest and most approved writers of the Roman history, as Plutarch, Polybius, Livy, and others. See the particulars in my Latin Synopsis on this place. (Numbers, xxii. 24)." Matthew Poole, Annotations upon the Holy Bible, 1800, vol. i. p. 384.

‡ The negative of this question has been maintained by Kimchi, Grotius, Keil and Delitzsch, Jamieson (in Jamieson, Fausset, and Brown's Commentary on Judges xi. 39), and others.

§ A few manuscripts have שֶׁפֶּזֶם, instead of שֶׁפֶּזֶם in Judges, xv. 4. (Kennicott, Vet. Test. Hebr., vol. i. p. 504.) which signifies "sheaves" instead of "foxes." In assigning this subject to the speaker, therefore, a double pun was made upon his name!

more from his determination to exercise his authority as a husband, than from his petulant disposition?

Aff. 1741.

Was the form of government among the ten tribes of Israel an absolute monarchy?

Neg. 1741.

Ought Gallio to have been a judge, in matters pertaining to religion, between the Jews and Christians?\*

Neg. 1741.

Would it be lawful to imitate some of the imprecations of David at the present time?

Neg. 1741.

Has the confusion of tongues been a curse to the human race?

Aff. 1747, 1765.

Was the star which appeared at the birth of Christ a comet?

Neg. 1758.

Was Samson, one of the judges of the Israelites, guilty of suicide?

Neg. 1765.

Is the shortening of human life to its present length generally for the advantage of men?

Aff. 1767.

When the shadow went back on the sun-dial of Hezekiah, did the shadows go back on all sun-dials? †

Aff. 1769. Neg. 1771.

Was the borrowing of the Israelites from the Egyptians a fraud? ‡

Aff. 1771.

Is it necessary that Mary should have been the mother of two sons, because Christ is called her first-born son?

Neg. 1772.

Was the intercession of the rich man in hell in behalf of his brethren prompted by fraternal love?

Aff. 1773.

\* "And Gallio cared for none of those things." Acts, xviii. 17.

† The older commentators, almost without exception, believed that the earth's motion around its axis was actually reversed. Some of the moderns say, that the retrocession of the shadow was produced by extraordinary refraction, or by an earthquake which caused an alteration of the height of the obelisk or gnomon.

‡ The word "borrow" in our version of Exodus, iii. 22 and xii. 35, is a mistranslation, and should be "ask," as the Septuagint and Vulgate give it. "Thus no fraud was practised against the Egyptians, who knew that they would not receive back the vessels which they gave to the departing Israelites, and who gave them willingly, because God inclined their hearts to the Israelites (ver. 21). Compare xi. 3, xii. 36." M. Kalisch, Commentary on Exodus, Lond. 1855, p. 60.

*Questions relating to the Church and the Ministry.*

Does the holy catholic church, in which we believe, consist only of the elect?

Aff. 1700.

Is lay baptism in any case lawful?

Neg. 1700.

Should predestination be publicly taught and preached?

Aff. 1701.

Ought tithes to be paid to ministers under the dispensation of the Gospel as much so as to the ministers under the Law?

Aff. 1703, 1754.

Is the invisible church a Platonic idea?

Neg. 1717.

Should the children of unbelievers be baptized?

Neg. 1727, 1736.

Is sanctifying grace necessary for the minister of a church, as a minister?

Neg. 1727.

Is polite literature an ornament to a theologian?

Aff. 1728. Mather Byles.\*

Are ministers of the church entitled to an honorable stipend by divine right?

Aff. 1728.

Is the so-called Apostles' Creed, considered in itself, of any authority?

Neg. 1729.

Do organs excite a devotional spirit in divine worship? †

Neg. 1730.

Are religious exercises in an unknown tongue contrary to nature and to the object of religion?

Aff. 1731.

Does unity of opinion create unity of affection?

Aff. 1731.

Is an unbroken apostolic succession necessary to the validity of the ministry?

Neg. 1733.

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\* The first minister of the church in Hollis Street, Boston, in 1733, he was noted for his wit, and also for his literary tastes and accomplishments.

† "Instrumental Musick in the Worship of God is but a very late Invention and Corruption in the Church of the New Testament. The Writings that go under the name of Justin Martyr deny it and decry it. Chrysostom speaks meanly of it. Even Aquinas himself, about 400 Years ago, determines against it, as Jewish and Carnal. Bellarmine himself confesses, that it was but late received in the Church. If we admit Instrumental Musick in the Worship of God, how can we resist the Imposition of all the Instruments used among the ancient Jews? Yea, Dancing as well as Playing, and several other Judaic Actions? Or, how can we decline a whole Rabble of Church-Officers, necessary to be introduced for Instrumental Musick, whereof our Lord Jesus Christ hath left us no manner of Direction?" Mather, Magnalia, Book V. p. 66.

Should little children partake of the Lord's Supper?

Neg. 1734.

Are charity and mutual tolerance among the professors of Christianity most conducive to the promotion of true religion?

Aff. 1736, 1761.

Is the setting apart of any one to the pastoral office by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery absolutely necessary to constitute him an evangelical minister?

Neg. 1736.

Is the washing of feet a sacrament?\*

Neg. 1736.

Is the fact that a society is without a pastor sometimes a good reason for one's assuming the pastorate sooner than would otherwise be expedient?

Aff. 1736.

Can a faithful inquirer into the truth of the Scriptures, even though he should fall into error, be called a heretic?

Neg. 1737.

Should the deaf be required to worship God in the churches?

Aff. 1738.

Should the limits of church fellowship be narrower than those of eternal salvation?

Neg. 1740.

Can true friendship exist, where there is disagreement in regard to matters of faith?

Aff. 1744.

Should the calumnies of theologians always be answered?

Neg. 1753.

Does the greatest charity, united with a visible conformity to the precepts of the gospel, indicate the true Christian?

Aff. 1762.

Does music promote salvation?

Aff. 1762.

Is the example of the thief, who came to himself upon the cross, a sufficient argument in favor of postponing repentance?

Neg. 1762.

Does the title of Bishop belong to all pastors of churches?

Aff. 1765.

Does the recent reformation in vocal music contribute greatly towards promoting the perfection of divine worship?

Aff. 1767.

Ought ministers of the Christian Church to preach politics?†

Neg. 1769, 1772.

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\* This has been so regarded by many in the Greek and in the Roman Catholic Church, and it was practised by the Anabaptists, who considered that it was sanctioned by the Gospel of John, xiii. 14, and 1 Timothy, v. 10. Luther however said, that people would be much more benefited if a general bath were at once ordered, and the whole body washed.

† Mather Byles, when asked why he did not sometimes indulge in political

Should the government of the Church be prelatical?

Neg. 1769.

Does enthusiasm bring more injury to the cause of Christ than open impiety? \*

Aff. 1769.

Has the Christian religion received more injury from its friends than from its enemies?

Aff. 1770.

Should baptism be administered to the children of those who neglect the Lord's Supper?

Neg. 1770.

Is the introduction of a young man, who is inexperienced and untrained, into the pastoral care of a church, however acceptable it may be to the people, an injury to religion?

Aff. 1741, 1771.

Does he who acknowledges the covenant of Baptism, and rejects the Lord's Supper, implicitly deny his profession?

Aff. 1771.

Are disputes relating to theology generally injurious to religion?

Aff. 1781.

Does the toleration of every religion tend to promote true religion?

Aff. 1784.

*Questions relating to Theology, etc.*

Does the Deity have mediate knowledge? [*An detur in Deo scientia media?*] †

Neg. 1668, 1679, 1699, 1704, 1715, 1717.

Did the first created beings [*protoplasti*] lose their natural endowments by the Fall?

Aff. 1669, 1736.

Is original sin both sin and punishment?

Aff. 1674. Samuel Sewall.‡

preaching, replied: "In the first place, I do not understand politics; in the second place, you all do, every man and mother's son of you; in the third place, you have politics all the week, pray let one day out of seven be devoted to religion; in the fourth place, I am engaged in a work of infinitely greater importance. Give me any subject to preach on of more consequence than the truth I bring to you, and I will preach on it the next sabbath."

\* Enthusiasm, says Locke (Essay concerning Human Understanding, Book IV. ch. 19), "takes away both reason and revelation, and substitutes in the room of them the ungrounded fancies of a man's own brain, and assumes them for a foundation both of opinion and conduct." Robert Hall (Works, vol. ii. p. 200) defines enthusiasm as "that religious state of mind in which the imagination is unduly heated, and the passions outrun the understanding."

† Does the Deity have any except immediate knowledge?

‡ He was chief justice of the Supreme Court of the Province of Massachusetts in 1718.

Is there an absolute decree of reprobation?

Aff. 1675.

Do the attributes of God differ in reality from his essence?

Neg. 1675, 1728.

Is the soul transmitted by generation [*sit ex traduce*]?

Neg. 1664, 1675, 1684, 1703, 1705, 1708. Aff. 1767.

Is the knowledge of the angels discursive? \*

Aff. 1678, 1688, 1692, 1709.

Have the unregenerate a free will to choose spiritual good?

Neg. 1680, 1695, 1701, 1708.

Do the angels have matter and form?

Aff. 1680, 1682, 1693, 1694, 1703.

Is God's decree God himself?

Aff. 1684.

Is grace universal?

Neg. 1684, 1701.

Is Arminianism Neo-Pelagianism?

Aff. 1694.

Is the Pope, rather than the Turk, to be regarded as Antichrist?

Aff. 1695, 1715, 1762.

Can the Gentiles attain salvation by the light of nature? †

Neg. 1695, 1761.

Is avenging justice natural to God?

Aff. 1696.

Can those who are truly faithful be totally and finally lost?

Neg. 1696, 1724, 1760.

Is help sufficient for salvation given to all?

Neg. 1697, 1699.

Did Christ die for all, and for each?

Neg. 1698.

Does man's proclivity to evil proceed from the principles of an uncorrupt nature?

Neg. 1698.

Can any one be saved, in any country?

Neg. 1699.

Is Christ a mediator for the angels?

Neg. 1700.

Are there atheists, properly so called?

Neg. 1701.

Is the human intellect the measure of truth?

Neg. 1704.

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\* Is the knowledge of the angels intuitive, or does it come by "discourse of reason," as the result of passing from premises to conclusions?

† "Much less can men not professing the Christian religion be saved in any other way whatsoever, be they ever so diligent to frame their lives according to the light of nature, and the law of that religion they do profess; and to assert and maintain that they may, is very pernicious and to be detested." Westminster Confession of Faith, 1647, chap. x. art. 4.



Was man by creation mortal?

Neg. 1704. Aff. 1738.

Would the human body before the Fall naturally have tended to dissolution?

Neg. 1704, 1730. Aff. 1772.

Were the patriarchs of the Old Testament thrust down into limbo? \*

Neg. 1710.

Is the keeping of the Sabbath on the seventh day a divine and unchangeable ordinance?

Aff. 1710, 1761.

Is all sin by its very nature mortal?

Aff. 1710, 1720, 1765.

Does election to life eternal depend solely on the grace of God?

Aff. 1711.

Is monastic life a religious state in which one can do works of supererogation?

Neg. 1711.

Did Christ, in his descent to hell, suffer hell torments?

Neg. 1713.

Is there an order of rank among the demons?

Aff. 1714.

In the hypostatic union of the two natures [in Christ] do the natures remain distinct from the attributes?

Aff. 1716.

Is there any common religion by which all can be saved promiscuously?

Neg. 1718, 1730.

Will the visible world finally be burned up?

Neg. 1718, 1765. Aff. 1767.

Has a special angel been assigned as a perpetual guardian to each of the faithful?

Neg. 1719.

Is Christ a mediator as regards both natures?

Aff. 1719.

Is Christ, the mediator, as a man to be worshipped?

Neg. 1720, 1728.

Are philosophy and the study of philosophy to be considered as among the causes of heresy?

Neg. 1720.

Is mathematical certainty necessary in matters of faith?

Neg. 1723.

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\* Limbo is derived from *limbus*, "a border." According to the Romanists, besides heaven which is the abode of the blessed, hell which is the locality for the lost, and purgatory which is an intermediate state of purification, there are two other places "bordering" on hell for those spirits who, without any guilt of their own, have died outside the pale of redemption. The *limbus infantum* is for the souls of unbaptized infants; and the *limbus patrum* is for those saints of the Mosaic dispensation who passed away before the advent of the Messiah. When the work of Christ was accomplished, these last were freed from imprisonment, and their limbo is now empty.

Will the day of judgment begin with the blessed millennium?

Aff. 1723.

Is Christ, before the day of judgment, a perfect Saviour?

Neg. 1724.

Did Christ, as a man, after his ascension receive from God a revelation of the day of judgment?

Aff. 1724.

Are the saints in heaven more happy than if they had never sinned?

Aff. 1725.

Should anything that contradicts reason be admitted into articles of faith?

Neg. 1725.

Is there a paradise distinct from heaven?

Neg. 1725.

Are all the attributes of God, so far as he himself is concerned, one and the same?

Aff. 1727.

Are all the sighings for grace, grace?

Neg. 1727.

Does the happiness of God, no less than that of his creatures, depend on virtue?

Aff. 1729.

Is it essential to a divine revelation that it should contain nothing which is contradictory to reason?

Aff. 1729.

Will the different dispositions and affections which lead men in this life to various pursuits, afford them special enjoyment in the heavenly life?

Aff. 1730.

Is the trinity of persons in the Deity revealed in the Old Testament?

Aff. 1730. Neg. 1738.\*

Do the punishments of hell consist more in deprivation than in sensation [*magis in damno quam in sensu*]?†

Aff. 1730.

Did the fruit prohibited to Adam naturally vitiate the condition of his body?

Aff. 1731, 1749.

Will a friendship formed on earth be lost in heaven?

Neg. 1731.

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\* This negative was expunged, and the affirmative was inserted, after the order of exercises had been printed, by vote of the President and Tutors on the morning of Commencement Day. See Quincy, *Hist. of Harv. Univ.*, vol. ii. pp. 23-25.

† A distinction was made by the Schoolmen between that future punishment which consists simply in the pains of loss, and that which involves the pangs of actual suffering. The former was thought to be chiefly spiritual; the latter, physical. In hell individuals are doomed to *pœna æterna damni et sensus*; in purgatory they suffer *pœna temporalis damni et sensus*; in the "limbus infantium" they endure *pœna damni æterna*; in the "limbus patrum" they experience only *pœna damni temporalis*.

Is it in any degree necessary to salvation to believe every text of Scripture?

Neg. 1731.

If Adam had not sinned, would original righteousness have been communicated to his descendants?

Aff. 1731.

Were the angels created in a state of probation?

Aff. 1732.

Was Christ a mediator before he assumed human nature?

Aff. 1732.

Are the blessed in heaven capable of desires and hope?

Neg. 1733.

Does the Devil know the thoughts of men?

Neg. 1733.

Will the damned be punished for sins which they have committed in hell?

Neg. 1733.

Does the Deity punish human societies as societies?

Aff. 1734.

Did Christ ever appear to men before his incarnation?

Aff. 1735.

In order that there may be a just distribution of rewards, must those who are equally sincere be equally rewarded?

Neg. 1735.

Is the second person of the Trinity called the Son of God solely with respect to his mediatorial office?

Neg. 1737.

Is it necessary for men to believe any Christian doctrine, on which conduct in no way depends?

Neg. 1737.

Will there be a millennium for the saints on earth before the last resurrection?

Aff. 1737.

If a man is born deficient in one limb, will he be deficient in the same limb on the day of the resurrection?

Neg. 1738.

Have the faculties of men which were depraved by sin been restored by the Redeemer?

Aff. 1738.

Was sin in the world before the fall of Adam?

Aff. 1738.

Can any power except the omnipotence of God terminate the existence of the soul of a brute animal?

Neg. 1740.

Was the use of words and letters originally revealed by God?

Aff. 1741.

Will a shaking of the whole earth immediately precede the general conflagration?

Aff. 1741.

If Adam had remained in a state of innocence, would he have been translated to heaven?

Aff. 1741. Neg. 1772.

Did God from eternity decree the fall of Adam, as well as the reprobation of the ungodly?

Aff. 1742.

Is reason adequate to investigate the doctrine that sin deserves eternal punishment?

Neg. 1742.

Are there distinct orders among the angels, and have they distinct offices?

Aff. 1747.

Will the blessed in the future world, after the last judgment, make use of articulate speech, and will that be Hebrew?

Aff. 1747. Edward Bass.\*

Do discords and disputes sometimes arise among the good and evil angels on our account?

Aff. 1753.

Do those who are justified with God confess that they are properly worthy of eternal punishment?

Aff. 1754.

Would any evidence of the truth of the Christian religion remain, if the doctrine of transubstantiation were admitted?

Neg. 1755.

Is despair an essential part of the punishment of hell?

Aff. 1756.

Is it consistent with divine justice that the human race should be subjected to death for the sin of one man?

Aff. 1758, 1769.

Does the falling of the rain prove a Providence?

Aff. 1758.

Will a comet be the cause of the world's final conflagration?

Aff. 1759.

Does an immutable decree destroy human freedom?

Neg. 1766. Josiah Quincy.†

Are the elect, before they obtain faith in Christ, just as liable to condemnation as all others?

Aff. 1767.

Can God's justice be vindicated, if a future state is denied?

Neg. 1768.

\* He was the first bishop of the Episcopal Church in Massachusetts, and was consecrated in 1797.

† This theological question was assigned to Josiah Quincy, Jr., eminent both as a speaker and writer in the period just preceding the Revolution, and "aptly called the Boston Cicero." He delivered also on the same day an English oration, the first ever spoken at these academic exercises, on the subject of Patriotism. As in the case of Warren, a simple Mr. (which he received also from Yale College) stands against his name in the Quinquennial Catalogue, and both died in the same year, 1775.

Is immortality merely a privilege, and by no means a prerogative, of the human soul?

Aff. 1770.

Is the first resurrection in the Apocalypse mystical?

Aff. 1772.

Would oaths have been necessary if the human race had remained in its original condition?

Neg. 1788.

Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS spoke of the disuse of other than the English language at public occasions in Cambridge, and related an amusing anecdote of Governor Lincoln's difficulties in preparing the address (in Latin) as chief magistrate of the Commonwealth at the inauguration of President Quincy in 1829, which was, he thought, the last performance in that tongue.

Mr. ELLIS AMES exhibited a warrant issued by Governor Hancock in 1781, empowering three justices of the peace in Bristol County to apprehend and commit to jail any persons whom in their judgment the safety of the Commonwealth required to be restrained of their personal liberty. Mr. Ames mentioned this as an instance of the despotic measures sometimes adopted by the freest governments, and related the history of this legislation.

The earliest statute he had found was an act of the General Court, approved by the Council, May 10, 1777, entitled "An act for taking up and restraining persons dangerous to this State." The preamble of this act set out that "Whereas, at a time when the public enemy have actually invaded some of our neighboring States, and threaten an invasion of this State, the safety of this Commonwealth requires that a power be somewhere lodged to apprehend and imprison any persons whose enlargement is dangerous to the community." The first section of the act provided that the Council (then the only executive power of the State) might from time to time issue their warrant, directed to a sheriff or his deputy, to cause to be apprehended and committed to jail any person whom the Council should deem the safety of the Commonwealth required to be restrained of his personal liberty, or whose enlargement within this State was dangerous thereto. And the sheriff or his deputy was authorized and empowered, by the same section, to require aid and assistance in executing the same. By the second section, the sheriff or deputy sheriff was empowered to break open by day or by night any dwelling-house in which he should suspect any person required to

be apprehended by such warrant to be concealed. By the third section it was enacted that the person apprehended and imprisoned, as aforesaid, should be continued in prison without bail or mainprise until he should be discharged therefrom by order of the Council or of the General Court. And by section fourth this act was to be in force for the term of one year from May 10, 1777.

At the May session, 1778, of the General Court, an act reviving and continuing the first-mentioned act was passed. The preamble of this act recited that the first act "has been found very useful and beneficial." The act was continued in force until June 20, 1779.

At the May session of the next year, the same act was revived and continued until June 20, 1780. The preamble of the new act again recited that "said act has been found useful and beneficial."

An act was approved by Governor Hancock, Feb. 14, 1781, entitled "An act in addition to an act entitled 'An act for taking up and restraining persons dangerous to this State.'" The preamble set forth that "Whereas, at the time the said act was made, the power and authority for executing the same was vested in the Council of the then State, but now by the new constitution of this Commonwealth such power is and ought to be vested in the Governor and Council"; also, "that many difficulties may occur in prosecuting complaints to the Governor and Council for offences committed in parts remote from the seat of government, so that said act, without an addition thereto, will not answer all the good purposes designed by the same."

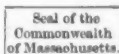
The act of Feb. 14, 1781, then provided, in the first section, that the Governor and Council should be vested with all the power and authority in executing the aforesaid law which the Council of the then State had at the time the said law was made. The next section enacted that the Governor should be requested, with the advice of the Council, to appoint three justices of the peace (one of whom at least should be of the quorum) in each county, who should be vested with the same authority in their respective counties in causing to be apprehended and committed to jail any person or persons by warrant under their hands and seals, and directed as aforesaid, as was by this act delegated to the Governor and Council. And the same penalties were to be incurred for disobeying the warrant of such justices as were provided in the aforesaid act in case of disobedience to the warrant issued by the then Council. By section third, said justices, if they caused per-

sons to be apprehended and committed by virtue of this act were directed to transmit quickly an account thereof, with the evidence upon which such commitment had been founded, to the Governor and Council, in order that the justice of such commitment might be inquired into; and if upon such inquiry the Governor, with the advice of the Council, should be of opinion that such commitment was improper, he might issue the necessary order for the release of any person or persons committed.

This act was to be in force until June 10, 1781, and no longer. Under it Governor Hancock issued February 17, 1781, the commission exhibited by Mr. Ames, which is printed below.\*

By statute enacted June 28, 1781, the act was revived and continued in force until Nov. 1, 1782, but was never again renewed.

#### THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.



To Benjamin Williams, George Godfrey, and Samuel Tobey, Esqs., Justices of the Peace for the County of Bristol.

By virtue of an act entitled an act in addition to an act entitled an act for taking up and restraining persons dangerous to this State.

I have, by and with the advice of the Council, assigned and constituted you and by these presents you are hereby constituted and appointed from time to time agreeable to an act entitled an act for taking up and restraining persons dangerous to this State, passed the 10th of May, 1777, to issue your warrant under your hands and seals directed to any sheriff or deputy sheriff within your county or to any other person within said county by name to command and cause to be apprehended and committed to jail any person whom you shall deem the safety of the Commonwealth requires should be restrained of his personal liberty, or whose enlargement within this Commonwealth is dangerous thereto; and in case you shall at any time cause to be apprehended and committed to jail any person or persons by virtue of the act above referred to, you are required as soon as may be to transmit an account thereof with the evidence upon which any such commitment may be founded to the Governor and Council in order that the justice of such commitment may be inquired into. This appointment to be and continue in force until the tenth day of June, 1781, unless the General Assembly of this Commonwealth or the Governor with the advice of the Council shall otherwise order.

In testimony whereof I have caused the public seal of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts aforesaid to be hereunto affixed. Witness

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\* In printing this commission the spelling has been made to conform to modern usage. — Ebs.



John Hancock, Esq., Governor and Commander in Chief of the said Commonwealth.

Dated at Boston the seventeenth day of February, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, and in the fifth year of the independence of the United States of America.

JOHN HANCOCK.

By His Excellency's Command, with the  
Advice of Council.

JOHN AVERY, *Secy.*

[Addressed on the outside:]

BENJ. WILLIAMS, GEORGE GODFREY, and SAMUEL TOBEY, Esqs.,  
for the County of Bristol. Public service.

Judge CHAMBERLAIN called to mind an instance of directly opposite character, where the General Court had refused to exercise power, although the urgent needs of the public service seemed to call for it. Colonel John Laurens asked, in 1780, for an act to allow the impressment of sailors, that he might be enabled to sail for France, where his presence as diplomatic agent was of the greatest importance, and was refused.

A volume of Proceedings, containing the record of the meetings from January, 1879, to March, 1880, inclusive, and memoirs of six deceased members, was announced as ready for distribution. This volume is numbered volume xvii.

Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH, from the Committee on memoirs of deceased Resident Members, presented a memoir of Lemuel Shattuck, prepared by Mr. Charles Hudson, one of Thomas G. Cary, by Mr. J. Elliot Cabot, one of Joseph E. Worcester, by Rev. William Newell, D.D., and one of the Rev. Charles Brooks, by Mr. Solomon Lincoln.

These memoirs were ordered to be printed, and here follow:—

MEMOIR  
OF  
LEMUEL SHATTUCK.

BY CHARLES HUDSON.

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LEMUEL SHATTUCK, the subject of this notice, was a son of John and Betsey (Miles) Shattuck, and was born in Ashby, Oct. 15, 1793. On Dec. 1, 1825, he married Clarissa Baxter, daughter of Hon. Daniel Baxter, by whom he had five children. He died Jan. 17, 1859.

Lemuel Shattuck was a good specimen of a self-made man. Without enjoying what has frequently been denominated a *public education*, by his native power and persevering industry he became what may justly be called a *public character*. Improving the advantages of our common schools, he qualified himself as a teacher, and entered upon that employment, which above almost any other is calculated to discipline the mind, and give one a knowledge of human nature. For, coming into direct contact with the children, and a partial contact with the parents, the teacher of our common schools discovers not only the capacity, but the wants and the wishes, the virtues and the prejudices, of those with whom he has to deal.

It has often been said that the boy is father of the man. So the teacher, by learning the disposition of children, and the true mode of governing them, has become acquainted with the best system of controlling the populace and governing the State. If the teacher is fit for his calling, he has by his experience not only improved his pupils, but has profited himself; has learned to exercise patience and forbearance, and the necessity of taking the world as it is, and making the best of it. Many a learned divine in his parish, many a wise statesman in the cabinet, and many a profound judge on the bench, has been aided and partially controlled by the knowledge he gained, and the self-discipline he acquired in teaching a district school, if he was so fortunate as to have engaged in that

honorable employment. We do not, of course, underrate the value of literary institutions of a higher grade ; but as our universities are beyond the reach of the great mass of young men, it is fortunate that we have institutions open to all, where our young men can obtain, free of charge, an education which will fit them to pursue the common avocations of life. Neither will we insist upon that culture which is acquired under disadvantages. We will not inquire whether a man is *self-made*, but whether he is *made*. There are advantages and disadvantages in every mode of culture. The self-made man is generally freed from the old established doctrines, but is bound closely by some fancied theory of his own ; and in this new field of vision he sometimes makes discoveries which the publicly educated man would never dream of. If a man becomes learned in spite of embarrassments, it shows that he has native ability and force of character, which the college student may or may not have. But there is danger that he may get into ruts where he is compelled to stop and turn back or rush on to destruction. Surveying a more contracted field, he is more likely to labor in vain, or become opinionated, than the student whose field of vision is broader, and who has experienced teachers ready to inform him when he is wandering from the direct path.

Mr. Shattuck was fortunate in his first avocation. By engaging in school teaching he placed himself where he would make literary improvement, submit to self-culture, and acquire more practical knowledge of men and things, than he could have obtained within the same period in the most celebrated university in the country. He pursued this calling several years in New England, New York, and Michigan. When in Detroit in 1818, he organized the first Sabbath school ever opened in Michigan, and superintended it during the four years of his residence in that city. After spending several years as a teacher of common schools, in 1823 he located himself in Concord, Mass., where he engaged in trade. But his mind was too active, and his aspirations were too broad to be satisfied with weighing out sugar and tea by the pound, and measuring off bombazine, nankeen, or tape by the yard. He was not idle while in Concord, but was devoted to the interests of education. In the Sabbath and in the district schools he was active, and introduced several important improvements. One of these improvements in the district schools was, that every teacher should be supplied with a printed form of a school register, such as Mr. Shattuck had prescribed, that the blanks should be filled daily, and at the

end of the term this register should be presented to the town committee. Another improvement which he recommended was, that the town committee should make a written report annually to the town concerning the condition of the schools; and in 1830 he prepared, presented, and published such a report. These measures were original with him; and, as far as his knowledge extended, this was the first annual school report of that description ever presented in a public town meeting in the State. In 1838, while he was a member of the Legislature, he procured the adoption of this measure by the State,—a measure which has proved highly beneficial to the cause of common schools.

Though Mr. Shattuck resided in different places, and followed different pursuits,—a trader in Concord, a bookseller in Cambridge, and a publisher and bookseller in Boston,—he never forgot the all-important subject of education. On this interesting department of study he was far from being cramped and narrow in his views. He regarded the subject of education as broad as the capacity of the human mind; and hence we find him actively alive to the improvement of the district schools, to the best system of keeping records, the importance of preserving writings of all kinds, of gathering all authenticated traditions, and placing the facts thus collected beyond the danger of destruction by any calamity by which such information might be lost. He also looked well to the sanitary condition of the people, the importance of pure water and salubrious air. His inquiries and publications relate to all these subjects. And though he was ardent and almost enthusiastic on all these, he was well removed from the infirmities of mere bigoted men. He was not impracticable. Even when he left the old beaten track, and presented a new view of any of these subjects, it was not presented as a mere fancy or wild vagary, but as a practical question, which could be reduced to practice; and its value in this way could be tested. He confined his labors to one general department of information; but he made that department so broad as to embrace a great variety of subjects. His labors must have been great, and his worth was acknowledged by the active men in a variety of different associations. He was one of the original founders of the Historic, Genealogical Society, and its vice-president for several years; an original founder of the American Statistical Association; a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society; a member of the American Antiquarian Society; and an active member of several minor associations, designed to carry forward improvements

in a variety of subjects. He was a member of the city council, and represented the city in the Legislature; in each position he was placed on some of the most important committees; and he was put forward to make reports in most of the cases where much labor was required. Mr. Shattuck shared the fate which has generally befallen men of ability and industry, when serving on any commission or committee. When such a man is found on any such board, there will be enough who wish to shun responsibility and labor to unite and throw all the labor upon the industrious member. This was done in the case of Mr. Shattuck. Knowing his industrious habits, his associates were generally disposed to throw the burden upon him.

A striking case of this kind is the following. In 1849 the Governor and Council, agreeably to a resolve of the Legislature, appointed Lemuel Shattuck, N. P. Banks, and Jehiel Abbott, as commissioners, "to prepare and report to the next General Court a plan for a sanitary survey of the State, embracing a statement of such facts and suggestions as they may think proper." The labor appears to have been imposed upon Mr. Shattuck, and the result was an octavo volume of five hundred and forty-four closely printed pages, containing a vast amount of valuable information on a great variety of subjects connected with the health of the people.

The published works of Mr. Shattuck show the industry of the man; and the subjects he treated prove that he did not confine himself to a narrow view of the general subject. We cannot perhaps do better than to present the titles of his principal publications. They are generally full, and give a fair view of the subject treated of. Omitting some minor reports on purely local subjects, we give the following:—

In 1835 he published "A History of the Town of Concord, Middlesex County, Massachusetts, from its earliest settlement to 1832; and of the adjoining towns, Bedford, Acton, Lincoln, and Carlisle; containing various notices of County and State History not before published." 8vo. 400 pp.

In 1841, "A Complete System of Family Registration. Part first, containing charts, forms, and directions for registering, on a new and simple plan, the birth, marriage, and death of the several members of the family, and for ascertaining and exhibiting at once their connections, relative situation, heirs-at-law, ancestors, descendants, and generation. Part second, containing forms and suggestions for registering other particulars, proper or useful to be retained in remembrance, relative to every member of any family, from which a particular biog-

raphy or history of any individual or family may be easily compiled." 4to.

In 1855 he published "Memorials of the Descendants of William Shattuck, the Progenitor of the Families in America that have borne his name; including an introduction and an appendix containing collateral information." 8vo. 414 pp.

In 1856, "Blank Book Forms for Family Registers, devised and constructed upon a new, simple, and comprehensive plan; containing suggestions and directions for an improved system of family registration, designed for general use in every family." 4to.

In addition to the books above mentioned, Mr. Shattuck prepared divers reports which were published, touching almost every subject before the public in his day; such as the plan of the census, showing the condition of the people, and their means of progress and prosperity; instructions to the town and city registrars, relating to the registration of births, deaths, and marriages; a plan for arranging, printing, and preserving public documents; a plan for enlarging, improving, and managing the State Library; vital statistics of Boston, containing an abstract of the bills of mortality for twenty-nine years. Nor did the subject of pure water escape his attention.

The mere mention of the works spoken of above shows that his mind must have been active. But this is not all. These works show an originality which is worthy of the man. Several of them deserve due notice for that very reason. Take his history of Concord as an example. While there is nothing original in the idea of a town history, the plan, division, or classification of the matter was his own. At the time of the publication of this history there were not more than half a dozen local histories in the Commonwealth, and some of these hardly deserved the appellation of a *history*. Mr. Shattuck's classification of subjects, though it appears perfectly natural, was of his own adoption, and is vastly more interesting and judicious than that of any local history known to us which had been published at an earlier date. He avoided the mere local character which most town historians have given to their works. He seems to have been fully aware that every municipality constitutes a part of the State, and that some of its institutions belong, as it were, to the State, and that some of the events which occur within its borders form a part of public history. This simple fact had, at the time of preparing his history, been substantially overlooked by the local annalists, and is grossly neglected by

many writers of town histories at the present day. Some writers of this sort stupidly suppose that they can pass themselves off as *historians*, when they have simply copied the votes recorded on the town book for a succession of years. Mr. Shattuck was not cramped by any view thus circumscribed, — was not the mere copyist from the town's record. In times of war he followed the gallant volunteer to the tented field, and the drafted soldier, if such there was, to the post of danger. And in times of peace he did not fail to see that certain enterprises which promoted individual prosperity redounded to the benefit of the nation. Mr. Shattuck's history of Concord may be taken as a good model of town histories. It should be remembered that we are not reviewing the book itself, or inquiring whether his statements are reliable or not; we are only speaking of him as a writer, and passing upon his skill in arranging his materials, and selecting those items which will best promote the object he had in view. We are, however, free to say that we think his examinations were generally thorough, and his conclusions such as his facts or supposed facts would justify. He was, however, in his appendix led off into a disputed field, where he appeared as the advocate, rather than the historian; and he was in this way involved in controversy with gentlemen from Acton and elsewhere, in which he added nothing to his reputation as a reliable authority.

The volume he prepared when on the sanitary commission reflects great honor upon his industry and good sense. He took a broad survey of the subject, and traced the intimations given, and the measures adopted in Greece and Rome, to improve public health; and he extended his inquiries into the sanitary condition, not only of our own country, but also of England and the principal European states. The character of diseases, and the remedies applied, the danger from impure water, and from poisonous exhalations, and whatever tends to generate diseases of any kind, were treated of, and the aid of science invoked to prevent the spread of epidemics. Though no direct, immediate, efficient measures were adopted to carry out the recommendations of the report, public attention was called to the subject; and the measures now being taken to supply towns with pure water, to abate nuisances of every sort, to improve sewers and dispose of sewage, and provide for better ventilation and the avoidance of unwholesome food, — all these subjects which now engage public attention have arisen, in some degree at least, from the report of Mr. Shattuck. It may seem improbable that a subject of vital im-



portance, when proposed to the public, should exert a greater influence thirty years after the subject is offered, than it does when first presented. But such is the case with all great, moral, national questions. The evils of intemperance and the horrors of slavery excited more feeling and produced more active measures years after the subjects were first pressed upon the public mind, than they did at their first introduction to the consideration of the people. But this fact does not detract from the merit of the first inventor, or the man who early presented the subjects to the public, and called for action on the part of the State. This fact only shows that these men were in advance of public sentiment in their day; and so reflects more honor upon their characters, — owning in fact, that they had more wisdom to discover, or more independence to proclaim a new and unpopular doctrine than those around them. Such appears to have been the fate and success of Mr. Shattuck. He was a free, independent inquirer, and as most of the subjects to which he turned his attention were at that time comparatively unknown to the people, they would in many cases regard his views as visionary and impracticable, which others at this day consider sound and important; and when later inquirers revolve the subject in their own minds, that they may make additions and improvements, they will often find that he compassed the whole subject, and that they can add little in the way of improvement. This was literally true of most of the subjects on which he wrote. Some of them were entirely new, and others were known only in their general outlines, being surrounded by mere rubbish, which of course must be removed before an edifice of real beauty and true proportions could be erected. This Mr. Shattuck did, as may be seen in many cases, in his town history; and such is true in part of the great sanitary question which is now being agitated in all parts of the civilized world. Nearly the same may be said of his great work on genealogy. When he wrote that important and interesting work, he had little or nothing to guide him in his plan; and even at the present day, though many works have been written on genealogy, the public are not prepared to settle down on any plan more valuable than the one he adopted. His charts for family records may appear a little fanciful, but who will give us any better?

Mr. Shattuck's genealogy of his family is an important addition to the works we have on that subject; and what adds to the merits of its author is the fact that he was a pioneer, in a great measure, in exploring this untrodden wild.

The idea of a family tree or record was not new, but the mode of presenting the record was by no means settled. It was an easy matter to present a single family. The parents and children coming in direct connection with each other, could easily be presented to the eye; but when you come to present a family in all its branches from the first emigrant to the present day, embracing six or eight generations, some of whom are on the western slope of the Rocky Mountains, the labor becomes immense; and the best mode of presenting your labors requires a wise system. Mr. Shattuck was fully aware of the labor he was assuming, and the difficulties which lay in his path. He was also sensible that there was no established mode of presenting a view of the families through several generations; but some system must be adopted. He therefore chose his own, by which he presents all the families by generations. This system has been adopted by many genealogists; and by it they avoid a reference backward and forward by figures,—a system which others have adopted. Each system has its advantages, and we see no reason why both systems may not be substantially combined, and the advantages of each secured. While we are ready to acknowledge the worth of this contribution made to the subject of genealogy at a time when the subject was not only generally neglected, but by many treated with derision; and while we admire the courage and industry with which he pursued his work to the end, we regret the absence of any fixed system by which the reader can with ease refer backward and forward and so ascertain at once the connection between this particular family and that of the first emigrant, or any other particular family he may desire. This could have been easily done by marginal figures, which would have enabled the reader to perceive the relationship between the different families. But this mode of showing the connection between the different families had not been fully developed when Mr. Shattuck prepared his herculean task; and instead of condemning him for not discovering every improvement which future writers may have discovered, we should rather commend him for being in advance of his age, and undertaking a work from which most men would shrink in despair.

Mr. Shattuck produced an able work, and connected with his genealogy many facts of an historical and statistical nature, and in that way rendered his book valuable in various respects. The simple fact that he filled over four hundred pages, octavo, of closely printed matter in his genealogy of a single emigrant shows that he must have introduced many

facts or occurrences besides the mere mention of births, marriages, residences, and deaths. And this he did in very many instances. We will name one case of his amplification: Dr. George Cheyne Shattuck, son of Dr. Benjamin Shattuck, is presented not only with the usual notice of birth and death, with his residence and profession, but with an interesting biographical notice of over nine pages. In this way Mr. Shattuck added to the size and value of his book; and no doubt if he had had the facts and information before him which have been spread before the public since he wrote his memorial, he would have given us a fuller and more perfect book. But as it is, it reflects high honor upon the writer.

Mr. Shattuck was of the old puritanical stock, as will be seen by the following reference to his genealogy. The original ancestor in this country was William Shattuck, who was born in England, in 1621. He came to this country and settled in Watertown, where he died, Aug. 14, 1672. He had a family of ten children; among them was John, who was drowned in Charles River in passing from Boston to Charlestown. John married Ruth Whitney, and from this Puritan stock Lemuel Shattuck descended; so that he could justly claim all the characteristics of the Puritan race, and in his whole life he exhibited their natural traits of character. Cool, collected, and self-reliant, he felt perfectly competent to accomplish whatever was required of him. His opportunities for education were limited. He says of himself, speaking as of a third person, "He never had the benefit of much public instruction. The common school in the district to which his father belonged was at a considerable distance from his dwelling-house, and was generally very imperfectly taught, and continued only a part of the year. He seldom attended more than five or six weeks in one season. The chief educational privileges which he enjoyed in his youth were in the school of mutual instruction, composed of his older brothers and his sisters, kept in intervals of leisure in an industrious and laborious early lifetime in his father's own household. Two quarters in the academy completed his public education. Whatever knowledge he has possessed besides has been acquired almost entirely in his private study, by his own unaided efforts, at such times as could be spared from actual labor and business, or from sleep. And he has great satisfaction in stating as the result of his own experience, that any person, by having a judicious plan for saving

the odd moments of life, and appropriating them to reading good books, or the acquisition of useful information, may obtain a large fund of knowledge, which will be a qualification for greater usefulness in any station, and be the source of great gratification and happiness in more mature and declining life."

This Mr. Shattuck says of himself, and his whole life bears testimony to the truth of the statement. In this case as in almost every other, a man's character may be known by his acts. No observing man can review Mr. Shattuck's works, without seeing that he possessed a cool, deliberate mind, of more than ordinary strength and self-reliance; and that when he had formed a resolution, he would not relax his effort till the object was attained. He not only possessed a discriminating mind, but he had more than ordinary executive or business talent. His fixedness of purpose and untiring industry were prominent traits of his character. And the natural powers of the man were undoubtedly under the control of the true Puritan doctrines of the age, modified in his case by his reflections and his acquaintance with the world. So that there is a free, generous, and moral tone displayed in all his writings, showing a true patriotic spirit, equally distant from a rigid aristocracy on the one hand, and radical democracy on the other. His efforts to improve the health of the community by drainage and ventilation, the gathering of statistics to learn the situation of the people, their wishes and their wants, the sanitary condition of the community, and every subject connected with their well-being and prosperity, all show the natural feeling of the man, and the kindness of his heart. All this we read in the acts he performed, and the subjects on which he spent his powers. We discover in all his writing nothing which would abridge the privileges of the people; but on the contrary he labored to increase their prosperity and to elevate their character, physically, socially, and morally. What he has written on family registers and the genealogy of his own family illustrates one trait of character which might be overlooked, but which in fact shows the parental, filial, and brotherly affections of the heart from which the tenderest traits of character arise. The man who would curse father or mother, and despise those reared under the same roof with himself, we should all regard as a cold-hearted wretch. So on the other hand, where we discover great regard for parents and kindred, we naturally look for kind and generous emotions, for reverence and fidelity, for

respect for authority, a sympathy for the poor and unfortunate, and a readiness to instruct the ignorant, elevate the fallen, and protect the weak against the oppression of the strong. Such were the traits of his character; and the acts of benevolence shown in the life of Mr. Shattuck should be cherished, and perpetuate a pleasing remembrance of his amiable qualities.

MEMOIR  
OF THE  
HON. THOMAS G. CARY.

BY J. ELLIOT CABOT.

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THOMAS GREAVES (or Graves) CARY was born at Chelsea, Sept. 7, 1791, and died at Nahant, July 4, 1859. The house in which he was born is still standing, a good specimen of the Provincial architecture. The estate, consisting of more than a thousand acres of land, belonged to Governor Bellingham, by whom the older part of the house is said to have been built, and came into the possession of Samuel Cary, grandfather of the subject of this memoir, through right of his wife, Margaret, daughter of Thomas Greaves, of Charlestown. Samuel Cary was great-grandson of James Cary, who came to Charlestown in 1639 from Bristol, England, in which city both his father and his great-grandfather had held the office of mayor. Samuel Cary had a son, also named Samuel, who married Sarah, daughter of the Rev. Ellis Gray, and had thirteen children, of whom Thomas Greaves Cary was the tenth.

Samuel Cary last mentioned was a successful merchant and planter in the island of Grenada; he returned to Massachusetts in 1791, in affluent circumstances; but a few years afterward the Grenada property was swept away in an insurrection consequent upon the revolution in St. Domingo, and the family were reduced for their main subsistence to the produce of the Chelsea farm.

Much attention had been paid to the education of the children, the elder of whom had been sent to England for this purpose. They now took charge of the schooling of their younger brothers and sisters. Mrs. Cary was a good reader of the English classics; an accomplishment which her son Thomas inherited. He was prepared for admission to Harvard College by Ebenezer Pemberton, at Billerica Academy.

and graduated in 1811 in the same class with Edward Everett, Dr. N. L. Frothingham, and other men of note. On graduating he studied law with Peter O. Thacher, walking to and from Boston except when the wind was fair for the sail-boat at the ferry. At home he took his share in the family work of instruction, advising and assisting in the studies of his younger brothers, who were fitted for college by him. He was admitted to the bar in Boston, in 1814, but soon afterward removed to Brattleborough, Vt., where he practised law until 1822, when he gave up that profession and joined his elder brother in business as a merchant in New York. Having married a daughter of Colonel T. H. Perkins, he was invited by his father-in-law to join the firm of J. & T. H. Perkins in Boston. Upon the dissolution of this copartnership he became treasurer of the Hamilton and Appleton Manufacturing Companies, and held this office until his death.

Mr. Cary was a man of decided literary tastes, and although always actively engaged in business, he was an occasional writer upon financial, economical, and political subjects; always commanding attention by the elevation of his views and the fulness and accuracy of his information. He was the unwearied friend and helper of every enterprise looking to the intellectual and moral advancement of the community. During the last twenty-five years of his life he was foremost in the management of the affairs of the Boston Athenæum, of which he was president. His connection with the Historical Society was a short one; he was chosen a member less than a year before his death, at a time when the state of his health probably prevented him from attending the meetings. He twice delivered orations in celebration of the Declaration of Independence: at Brattleborough, in 1821, and at Boston, in 1847. He was chosen senator for the Suffolk district of Massachusetts in 1846 and in 1852. In 1847 he was appointed commander of the Independent Company of Cadets. He was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and president of the Perkins Institution for the Blind.

The list of his public employments, however, but imperfectly represents his activity for the public good. Few men in his generation equalled him in single-hearted devotion to every duty, public or private, and this disposition was seconded by remarkable powers of application. He was always ready to give time and labor without stint and without thought of personal distinction. Never brilliantly successful so far as his own fortunes were concerned, his purity of char-



acter and unselfishness of conduct gave him an honored place in the community.

The following is a list of his published writings : —

A Letter to a Lady in France in answer to inquiries concerning the late imputations of dishonor upon the United States. Boston, 1844.

Dependence of the Fine Arts on the Security of Property. An Address before the Mercantile Library Association, Nov. 13, 1844. Boston, 1845.

A Practical View of Banking. Address before the Mercantile Library Association. December, 1845.

Profits on Manufactures at Lowell. Letter from the Treasurer of a Corporation to J. S. Pendleton, Esq., Va. Boston, 1845.

Oration before the City Authorities of Boston, July 5. Boston, 1847.

Speech in the Senate of Massachusetts on the Bill concerning the Manufacture and Sale of Intoxicating Liquors. March 3, 1852.

Speech on the Resolutions providing for the Reception of Louis Kosuth, April 7. Boston, 1852.

Speech on the Use of the Credit of the State for the Hoosac Tunnel, May 18. Boston, 1853.

Reply to a Review of the above Speech, by E. H. Derby. Boston, 1853.

Memoir of Thomas Handasyd Perkins. [In Hunt's Lives of American Merchants, vol. i., 1856.]

Destiny and Progress. Hunt's Merchants' Magazine.

Gold from California. Lecture at North Chelsea, March 25. New York, 1856.





*J. E. Worcester*





## MEMOIR

OF

J. E. WORCESTER, LL.D.

BY WILLIAM NEWELL.

JOSEPH EMERSON WORCESTER, the great-grandson of Rev. Francis Worcester, who was a descendant in the third generation of Rev. William Worcester, first minister of Salisbury, N. H., was the second son of Jesse and Sarah Parker Worcester, and born in Bedford, N. H., Aug. 24, 1784. He removed with his father to Hollis, N. H., in 1794. His father's family, consisting of nine sons and six daughters, seems to have been a race of educators. Fourteen out of the fifteen were employed at one time or another as teachers in the public schools or academies of New England.

Joseph, the subject of this memoir, worked on his father's farm till he was twenty-one. From his boyhood he had an eager desire for knowledge, and when he came of age he determined to obtain, if possible, a collegiate education. With characteristic perseverance, amid difficulties, he finally succeeded in fitting himself for an advanced standing in Yale College, being admitted to the Sophomore class in 1809, and graduating in 1811. He then became preceptor of a private academy in Salem, Mass., where he remained for five years, quietly preparing himself, and being prepared by his school experience and his private studies, for his future eminent career. In 1816 he gave up his school and passed the two following years at Andover. From this time until his death his life was one of unbroken, patient and useful literary labor, interrupted only in his latter years by partial failure of sight; in spite of which, however, he continued with all the power which yet remained to him his devotion to his work. "Nulla dies sine linea." His first publication, "A Geographical Dictionary or Universal Gazetteer, Ancient and Modern," in two large octavo volumes, was issued at Andover in 1817, followed by a "Gazetteer of the United States," also in octavo, — both

of them received with marked approval for their accuracy and comprehensiveness. In 1819 he removed to Cambridge, where he passed the remainder of his industrious, successful, and honorable life. In that year appeared his "Elements of Geography, Ancient and Modern," which soon became a standard text-book in the New England schools, and in 1824, an "Epitome of Geography," each with an atlas, and in the same year with the former (1819), a companion work, "Sketches of the Earth and its Inhabitants," in two volumes duodecimo, with one hundred pictorial engravings.

On his election to the American Academy, in 1825, he presented an essay on "Longevity and the Expectation of Life in the United States," which was published among the memoirs of the Academy. The following year he issued from the press his "Elements of History, Ancient and Modern," which, as meeting a want long felt of a compendious, reliable and well written history for the use of schools and academies, was soon adopted as a text-book in New England and in other parts of the country. In 1827 appeared his "Epitome of History," with charts, and in the two following years "Outlines of Scripture Geography," and "Outlines of Ancient, Classical, and Scripture Geography," each with an atlas.

His indefatigable industry, not satisfied with these achievements, now entered a new field of labor. In 1828 he issued an edition of "Johnson's Dictionary, as improved by Todd and abridged by Chalmers, with Walker's Pronunciation combined," with which he incorporated valuable additions of his own. This was his first undertaking in the department of lexicography, leading to the works on which his fame will chiefly and justly rest.

In 1829, under the urgent persuasion of the publisher of Dr. Webster's large dictionary and his own personal friend, he reluctantly consented to prepare an abridgment of that work, which he faithfully and ably accomplished. It may be easily imagined how this afterward was made the handle of some scandal and misrepresentation by interested parties. It is hardly worth while to allude to it, except to say that Dr. Worcester was amply vindicated. Indeed no one who knew him needed any certified assurance of his honor and integrity in all the transactions of his busy life. But his own independent researches and independent collections now impelled him to complete the enterprise which had long been in his mind, delayed only by his scrupulous solicitude for accuracy in all its details. In 1830 he published, in a duodecimo vol-



ume, the first of his original dictionaries, entitled "Comprehensive Pronouncing and Explanatory Dictionary." This excellent work came rapidly into general favor, and with successive additions and improvements by the author in after years, has become a standard work, with a constant and rapidly increasing sale.

In November, 1831, Dr. Worcester made a voyage to Europe for health, recreation, and the enlargement of his resources for the works he had in hand. After eight months' tour in Great Britain and on the Continent, visiting all places of interest on his way and recording his observations and impressions in a manuscript journal still preserved among his papers, he returned to this country and to renewed labor, refreshed and strengthened by his well-planned vacation.

Shortly after this he undertook the editorship of the "American Almanac," a work requiring great industry, wide correspondence and careful research and verification, which for eleven years he conducted with his usual faithfulness and ability. He still continued, however, his studies and accumulations of material for the great work in which his literary labors finally culminated in 1860, at the age of 75. But in the interval between this and his return from Europe his patient, unremitting diligence, had prepared and sent to the press, even under the difficulties arising from impaired sight, a number of highly valued books for general use, as well as the use of teachers and schools; in 1835, his "Elementary Dictionary"; in 1846, "A Universal and Critical Dictionary of the English Language, with Walker's Key to the Pronunciation of Classical and Scripture Proper Names, much enlarged and improved," an elaborate work in royal octavo, containing a vast number of words not found in previous dictionaries, and, like his other preceding works, gratefully welcomed by the public. Between 1850 and 1860 appeared his "Primary Dictionary," of 334 pages, his "Pronouncing, Explanatory and Synonymous Dictionary," of 565 pages, and his "Pronouncing Spelling Book," all for the use of public schools, and finding a most extensive sale. These were followed, in 1864, when he was 80 years old, by his "Comprehensive Spelling Book." It is a rare instance of successful literary labor kept up to so advanced an age, and our admiration of his industry and perseverance, as well as of his prolonged ability to work, is heightened by the fact that, in the preparation of these later works and to the end of life, he had to labor under the difficulties of obscured eyesight. In 1847 he was threatened with its entire loss. He had over-

worked his eyes, and both of them were at length curtailed with cataracts. By successive operations these were removed and a partial recovery of sight obtained. One eye only was finally enabled to do service. The other remained nearly blind. Dr. Worcester bore the trial, in his case so peculiarly severe, with wonderful equanimity and firmness.

"But the most important and elaborate of all his literary labors, and to which all of his many previous works and researches in the department of lexicography for the preceding thirty years and more had been introductory and more or less preparatory, was the large quarto 'English Dictionary,' first published in 1860, when he had reached the age of 75 years. In the final preparation of this work, more particularly in the definitions and explanations of technical and scientific terms, he had the aid of many able assistants, but, so far as relates to himself, this dictionary presents the ripe fruits of his many years of patient, assiduous, and conscientious research and labors, shaped, as is believed, by sound, discriminating judgment and uniform good taste."\*

Dr. Worcester had the satisfaction of knowing that his labors and his merits were justly appreciated. Brown College, in 1847, and Dartmouth College, in 1856, honored him with the degree of LL.D.

In 1841 he was married to Amy Elizabeth McKean, daughter of Rev. Joseph McKean, D. D., the professor, after John Quincy Adams, of rhetoric and oratory in Harvard College. She still survives him. He had no children. In private life Dr. Worcester won the high esteem and respect of all who knew him, not only for his learning, ability and intense industry in his useful work, but for the sterling virtues of a character without stain. He was a sincere Christian in faith and in life, thoroughly upright, conscientious and honorable, a loving kinsman, a stanch friend, a patriotic citizen. Reserved and staid in manner, hesitating and cautious in speech, he was full of strong and tender feeling. He had nothing of the selfishness of the mere literary recluse and hard worker. His absorption in his studies never made him forgetful of the wants and claims of others. One of his Cambridge nephews, who from his childhood had lived near him, in a letter from abroad written on hearing of his death, speaks admiringly of his "patience under affliction, his modesty, forbearance, gen-

\* From an article of great value and interest on his life and works, by his brother, Samuel T. Worcester, Esq., in the Granite Monthly of April, 1880, to which the writer of this is chiefly indebted for the facts and dates which he has here given.

tleness and kindness, his generosity and philanthropy, his trust in his fellow-men and his faith in God."

He died in Cambridge, after a short illness, Oct. 27, 1865, at the age of 81.

From distinguished literary men and authors, to whom Dr. Worcester had sent copies of his large quarto dictionary in 1860, he received grateful and flattering replies.

"So far as I yet examine," Thomas Carlyle writes in his note of acknowledgment, of which only a few sentences are here quoted, "it is a most lucid, exact, comprehensive, altogether useful-looking dictionary; the definitions of meaning are precise, brief, correct, — the wood-cuts occasionally a great help, — new fields are opened with success, everything is calculated for carrying information by the directest road." "Samuel Johnson said of his work, 'Careful diligence will at last prevail'; you too I believe I can congratulate on a great mass of heavy and hard work faithfully done, — a good victory, probably the only real victory possible to us in this world."

W. M. Thackeray writes, "I have had no dictionary all my life but an old (abridged) Johnson of my father's, and whenever I have consulted it have been aware of its countless shortcomings. Let me thank you for giving me this useful and splendid book, and for thinking it would be acceptable to an English man of letters who holds Boston and the States in very cordial and grateful remembrance."

Charles Dickens ends his note of thanks with saying, "It is a most remarkable work, of which America will be justly proud, and for which all who study the English language will long have reason to respect your name, and to be grateful to you. Accept my congratulations on the achievement of this laborious work, together with my best wishes for a speedy and enduring return in profit and honor."

Herbert Coleridge writes: "As a work of practical utility it seems to me nearly perfect, and I expect to derive immense advantage from it."

The venerable ex-president of Harvard University, Hon. Josiah Quincy, then in his 87th year, concludes his letter of acknowledgment with words that may fitly conclude this memoir of the distinguished lexicographer of Cambridge: "Without putting on any wing of fancy, assuming no airy stand upon Parnassus, but resting on a deeply laid rock of useful labor, you have a right as much as any poet to exclaim, 'EXEGI MONUMENTUM ÆRE PERENNIOUS.'"

MEMOIR  
OF THE  
REV. CHARLES BROOKS.  
BY SOLOMON LINCOLN.

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CHARLES BROOKS was a son of Jonathan and Elizabeth (Albree) Brooks, of Medford, and was born in that town, Oct. 30, 1795, where he died, July 7, 1872, aged seventy-six years, eight months, and seven days. He was fitted for college under the tuition of Dr. Luther Stearns (H. C., 1791), of Medford; entered Harvard College in 1812, and was graduated in due course, in 1816. Mr. Brooks frequently complained of having been poorly fitted for college, which he thought subjected him to great disadvantages in obtaining high college rank; but by close attention to his studies and indefatigable perseverance he overcame them. He reached a highly respectable position during his collegiate course, and received the assignment of honorable parts in the exhibitions. His Commencement part was a poem in Latin, and on taking the master's degree, in 1819, he pronounced the valedictory oration in Latin. The inclination of Mr. Brooks led him to the clerical profession, and for a short time he was a reader in the Episcopal Church, to which his taste and sentiments had drawn him; but a conviction that Christianity as expounded by Ware and Channing was more conformable to truth, led him to adopt the views of the Unitarians.

He pursued his professional studies in the theological school of Harvard College, terminating them in 1819. He preached his first sermon in Medford, in the meeting-house in which he was baptized in infancy. He was a candidate for settlement only in one place, Hingham. He received the unanimous call of the Third Congregational Society to become their pastor, on a salary of \$1,000, which he accepted. He was ordained Jan. 17, 1821. The services on the occasion were of a high order. Dr. Henry Ware preached the sermon;







Chas. Brooks.

*Printed by Wilson & Daniels*





Rev. Convers Francis presented the right hand of fellowship; the charge was given by Dr. Thaddeus M. Harris, of Dorchester; President Kirkland offered the ordaining prayer, and the Messrs. Whitney of Hingham and Quiney also took part in the services.

Upon his settlement, Mr. Brooks entered at once upon active duty, engaging with great earnestness in all the measures which he thought would be useful to his parish or the community. He established a Sunday school in his society in 1822; a parish reading society; and during the first year of his ministry, he wrote a Family Prayer Book, intended for his people, which was afterward published in Hingham. It soon went to a second edition, and the demand for it was so great, that in 1833 he re-wrote the whole work, made a large addition to it, and the first stereotype edition was published. Eighteen editions have been issued, many having 4,000 copies each. A wealthy merchant of Boston gave away 20,000 copies, for which he paid Mr. Brooks a liberal price.

Mr. Brooks took an active interest in the Peace cause. By his efforts a county society was established, of which he was secretary. He was an ardent friend of the American Colonization Society, and for many years one of its vice-presidents. By his influence an institution for savings was established in Hingham, which by judicious management, has grown to a degree of importance scarcely anticipated by its best friends. He was also an early advocate of the Temperance cause in the Old Colony. He took a deep interest in all schemes for the public good. He was the first person to introduce the burning of anthracite coal in Hingham. And he is entitled to the honor of starting the project of a line of steamboats between Boston and Hingham.

Mr. Brooks was an early and constant friend of popular education. As a member of the school committees of Hingham, and afterward of Medford, for nearly forty years, he rendered efficient service to the community; and he was also a trustee of Derby Academy, and did much to elevate the standard of education in the community.

The various employments in which Mr. Brooks engaged with great readiness, and in which he worked with enthusiasm and perseverance, besides the discharge of his parochial duties bore heavily upon his strength. He sought relief and rest by a change of scenes and occupation. He visited Europe, in November, 1833. He visited England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Switzerland, and Italy. He was fortunate in making the acquaintance of many distinguished persons in Europe;

among them Rogers, Campbell, Wordsworth, Jeffrey, Cousin, Arago, Schlegel, Mrs. Hemans, Miss Martineau, and many others of note.

It was during the voyage to Europe, that he became interested in the Prussian system of education. His room-mate was Dr. Julius, of Hamburg, who was sent to this country by the king of Prussia, to collect information respecting our prisons, hospitals and schools, so that Mr. Brooks, on a passage of forty-one days, had a fine opportunity of becoming acquainted with the Prussian system, and of enlarging his European correspondence. In 1835 he addressed his people on Thanksgiving Day, on the subject of Normal Schools; and from that day forward, on every opportunity, he lectured before conventions to advance the cause into which he had entered with so much enthusiasm. He lectured in nearly one hundred different towns and cities—in every place where he was invited. By invitation of the legislatures of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, he delivered to crowded assemblies, in each, two or three lectures, besides speaking in most of the capitals between Boston and Washington. The results were the establishment of Boards of Education and Normal Schools. A distinguished educator, who is entirely competent to judge in this matter, says that Mr. Brooks for his long, disinterested and unpaid labors in the cause of education, is entitled to be considered more than any other individual, what he has been called, the "Father of Normal Schools."

The citizens of Plymouth county owe him a debt of gratitude for the influences which he set in motion, resulting in the establishment of the Normal School at Bridgewater. It was in 1838, that the celebrated meeting of the "Plymouth County Association for the improvement of Common Schools," was held at Hanover, where brilliant speeches were made by Horace Mann, Robert Rantoul, George Putnam, John Quincy Adams, and Daniel Webster, and a powerful impression was made upon the public mind. It was on this occasion that Mr. Adams, after speaking of what monarchs had done to establish Normal schools through their realms, exclaimed, "Shall we be outdone by kings?" and closed a very eloquent speech amid the acclamations of the assembly. Mr. Webster spoke also with his accustomed simplicity, directness, and power. "If," said he, "I had as many sons as old Priam, I would send them all to the public schools."

Mr. Brooks was present at this meeting; took the lead in

the measures proposed, and was deferred to as the engineer of the work to be done to create a correct public sentiment. But the limits of this notice forbid more elaborate discussion of the great services which Mr. Brooks rendered to the cause of education. Educators know the facts and appreciate them.

In 1838, he was elected Professor of Natural History in the University of the City of New York, and proposed to visit Europe to qualify himself for the duties of his new office. He accepted the office with the concurrence of his parish, and they adopted resolutions on the dissolution of the connection, expressing gratitude for his past services, and wishes for his future success. His pastorate ceased Jan. 1, 1839.

In 1839, he departed for Europe, where he remained upward of four years. While in France he attended the lectures on natural history at the Sorbonne and at the *Jardin des Plantes*. He devoted his time to scientific studies and such as he deemed of importance to him in the professorship. On his return to this country the failure of his sight compelled him to resign his professorship, and to retire to private life. Always engaged in some philanthropic object, he turned his attention to the condition of aged and destitute clergymen. He collected statistics and formed a society for their relief. It has been eminently useful, dispensing its blessing with a liberal hand. He devoted much of his time to Sunday schools, and was an efficient officer of the Sunday School Society.

Beside other works, he published a history of Medford, the "Daily Monitor," several editions of the Prayer Book, and a large number of other publications. He was quite a voluminous writer. He was interested in historical subjects, and was made a member of this Society, May 13, 1858.

In 1827, June 27, Mr. Brooks was married to Cecilia Williams, daughter of Hon. Roger Wolcott Williams, of Brooklyn, Conn. Their children were: Elizabeth Albree, born in Hingham, April 25, 1828, died in Medford, March 5, 1869; Charles John, born in Hingham, April 16, 1832, died in that town, June 8, 1833; Charles Wolcott, born in Hingham, Oct. 1, 1833. Mrs. Cecilia Brooks died in Hingham, March 18, 1837, aged thirty-five. The surviving son is the Consul-General of Japan, in this country.

Mr. Brooks was married a second time, Aug. 1, 1839, to Mrs. Charlotte Ann Haven Lord, of Portsmouth, N. H., who died in that city in November, 1869.

Mr. Brooks was also a member of the Historical Society of Wisconsin, the Chicago Historical Society, and the Boston

Society of Natural History, and many others for the promotion of his favorite studies, and for philanthropic purposes.

Mr. Brooks was sincere in his friendship, candid in his judgment, genial, cheerful, and affable. He was averse to all controversy; he avoided theological polemics, and was a peacemaker, adding to a life of practical benevolence, the graces of a Christian character.

## SEPTEMBER MEETING, 1880.

The stated meeting was held this day, September 9th, at 3 o'clock P.M.; the President, Mr. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian read the list of donors to the Library. Among the gifts were a few leaves of the Diary of Judge Sewall for the spring of 1702, presented by Dr. J. S. H. Fogg of South Boston. This fragment covers a period not embraced in the manuscripts already in the possession of the Society, and was referred to the committee on the Sewall Papers for examination.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that President Chadbourne and Mr. John C. Ropes had accepted their election as Resident Members.

The Hon. Zachariah Allen of Rhode Island was elected a Corresponding Member.

The President then spoke as follows:—

Soon after we had adjourned in June last for our summer vacation, an interesting and valuable addition to our Library was received from our foreign Corresponding Member, W. Noël Sainsbury, Esq., of Her Majesty's Public Record Office in London, to which I take pleasure in calling your attention this afternoon. It is a very large volume, entitled "Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1661-1668." The last volume of this important series, which Mr. Sainsbury also presented to our Library, ended with the year 1660. The present volume continues the Calendar to the close of 1668, and contains no less than 1,911 abstracts of colonial documents for those eight years. Not a few of the documents relate to Massachusetts and to other parts of New England. Many more of them relate to the other co-existing colonies on the American Continent. Mr. Sainsbury has shown himself a most careful and diligent laborer in the preparation of these Calendars, and has earned a grateful acknowledgment from all students of early American history. Edited and published by him, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, with the sanction of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, and printed sumptuously at the cost of the British Government, this Calendar cannot fail to renew our impressions of

the recent liberality of that Government in opening its historical treasures to the public and putting them in a form for general and convenient consultation. Such calendars inform us not only what is to be found in those venerable British archives, but what is not to be found there, and thus save a world of pains in searching for things which have no existence or no record. There has not yet been time for any of us to examine this large volume with sufficient care for ascertaining what new materials it may afford for Massachusetts or American history; but our friend Mr. Deane will doubtless soon take it in hand, and nothing will elude his vigilant and experienced eye.

Meantime, there is an elaborate preface, of eighty-three pages, by Mr. Sainsbury himself, which calls attention to many interesting items, and presents a valuable historical summary of the contents of the volume. You will all unite, I am sure, in authorizing me to return something more than a mere formal acknowledgment of this gift, and to assure our obliging and accomplished Corresponding Member of our grateful appreciation of his work.

Another present to our Library, more recently received, calls for special notice. It is a History of the United States, from the earliest period to the present day, in the French language, and in two volumes, printed by Didier & Co., publishers to the French Academy. It is sent to us by the author, M. Frederick Nolte of Paris. It will remain on our table for the present, and may form an interesting subject of examination. Meantime, the thanks of the Society will be duly returned for so acceptable a gift.

It will not be forgotten that at our last meeting I called attention to a subscription which had been commenced for a proposed American Memorial to Sir Walter Raleigh, to be placed in the Church of St. Margaret, Westminster, under the auspices, and by the invitation, of Canon Farrar, the distinguished rector of that old historic church. The paper when sent to me contained already five subscriptions of £20 each by American gentlemen, headed by my friend, Russell Sturgis, Esq., of the house of Baring Brothers & Co.

At my suggestion our Society added another £20 to the subscription, and I was requested to invite the co-operation of other American Historical Societies, and of individuals who might take an interest in such a Memorial.

During this summer season, other Historical Societies, like our own, have been in a state of suspended animation, and their members have been scattered at the sea-coast or in



the mountains. There has thus been no opportunity of appealing to many of them.

I am happy to say, however, that the Pennsylvania Society and the American Antiquarian Society have added £20 each; the Virginia Society and the North Carolina Society have also united with us. In all, there have been about £210 subscribed. We require as much more, at the least, for the completion of the work. It would be safer to fix the sum required at £500.

I have some promises outstanding, from other Societies, which I trust will be fulfilled, and we can afford to wait another month before pronouncing on the success or failure of the plan. I shall be glad of the assistance of any who may take an interest in its success.

We have lost since our last adjournment one of our most distinguished American Honorary Members. The Rev. Barnas Sears, D.D., died at Saratoga Springs, New York, on the 6th of July last. He was originally elected a Corresponding Member of this Society in 1869, and was afterward transferred to our Honorary roll. He was born in Sandisfield, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, on the 19th of November, 1802, and was thus in the 78th year of his age. But until a very recent period, he had exhibited none of the infirmities of advancing years, and as lately as our October meeting in 1878, less than two years ago, he was with us here in full enjoyment of health and vigor, and gave us a brief but most interesting account of his acquaintance with Humboldt and the great Hebraist, Gesenius, and the eminent Professors Böck and Hermann, while pursuing his studies in Berlin and at the Universities of Halle and Leipsic in 1834 and 1835. He had previously, in 1825, been graduated at Brown University, and had then pursued his theological studies at the Newton Baptist Seminary in our own State.

Dr. Sears commenced his career, as a clergyman, as pastor of the First Baptist Church at Hartford, Connecticut, but after two years became a professor in the institution now known as Madison University, at Hamilton, New York. He left that position for the pursuit of his studies in Germany, and on his return became a professor, and not long afterward, the president, of the Newton Theological Seminary. In 1848 he succeeded the late Horace Mann as Secretary of the Board of Education of Massachusetts, an office which he filled with signal ability for six or seven years. In 1855 he was called to succeed the eminent Dr. Francis Wayland as president of

Brown University, and continued to hold that office until 1867. That was the year in which George Peabody established his great Trust for Southern Education, and when the Trustees were so fortunate as to secure the services of Dr. Sears, as their General Agent. As Chairman of the Board, I have been in the most intimate communication and correspondence with him during the more than twelve years last past, and have been a witness to his indefatigable and most successful labors in that field. I reserve any detailed reference to those labors for the annual meeting of the Trustees in February next. It is enough for me here to express my deep sense of the fidelity and value of his services, in the cause to which he had thus devoted the remainder of his life. He removed his residence at once to Staunton, Virginia, where he could be in more immediate communication with the people whose schools he was henceforth to superintend, and where he won the confidence, respect, and affection of all with whom he was brought into connection or counsel. His death has called out the warmest expressions of regret and sorrow in all parts of the South.

Dr. Sears had published not a few interesting and valuable volumes. A German Grammar of Nohden's was his earliest publication. It was followed, in 1844, by a treatise, giving an account of the mode of teaching Latin in the Prussian schools. Soon afterward came a collection of Martin Luther's Essays in German, with notes of his own. An admirable Life of Luther by him, which has been translated into many foreign languages, was published in 1850. He was afterward associated with the late President Felton in publishing a volume of Essays on Ancient Literature and Art, in defence of the Classics. His improved edition of Roget's Thesaurus in 1854 is, perhaps, more familiar to us all than any of his other works. His very last effort was in preparing a Semi-Centennial Address for the American Institute of Instruction at their late meeting at Saratoga Springs. He was taken ill a few weeks before the meeting was to be held, and was recommended to try the effect of the Springs for his relief. But he reached there only to die. The address, however, containing his views of "Educational Progress in the United States during the Last Fifty Years," had been completed before he left home, and was read to the assembled Institute, on the day after his death, by our excellent Vice-President, Dr. George E. Ellis. Dr. Ellis, at my request, had most kindly been a constant visitor to Dr. Sears, during his stay at Saratoga, and rendered services of the greatest

value to him and his family. He learned to appreciate, as I had long done, the noble character and rich accomplishments of Dr. Sears, and to sympathize with me in his loss.

The remains of Dr. Sears were brought to Brookline, and after interesting services at the Baptist church, were buried in the family tomb of his wife on the 9th of July.

We have all observed the accounts of the sad disaster which has recently befallen a very eminent German historian, Theodor Mommsen, whose whole library and precious manuscripts were destroyed by fire. The sympathies of the literary world have been strongly excited in his behalf, and proposals of many kinds have been made in Europe for his relief. He is understood to have declined any pecuniary contribution, and it is added that the insurance on his library will replace it, so far as it is possible to replace it. I have thought that we might well show our sense of his affliction, by placing his name on our Honorary roll, and by accompanying the diploma with any volumes of our publications which might possibly have an interest for him.

The nomination of Prof. Theodor Mommsen of Berlin, as an Honorary Member, was reported from the Council.

Mr. DEANE communicated copies of a number of additional letters of Dr. Belknap to Ebenezer Hazard, sent to him by Mr. Willis P. Hazard, grandson of Dr. Belknap's correspondent, since the publication by the Society of the Belknap and Hazard letters. These he thought might be deposited in the Society's archives, and be included at some future day in a new edition of these letters, should it be called for.

Mr. DEANE read some extracts from a letter of Washington to Richard Henry Lee, dated "Camp at Cambridge, Aug. 29, 1775," which extracts were not included in the same letter as published by Mr. Sparks in the third volume of Washington's Writings, at page 68. The extracts were copied from the original letter in the possession of a descendant of Mr. Lee, and sent, several years ago, to our Associate, Mr. Whitmore.

Mr. WINSOR read from the proof-sheets of the first volume of "The Memorial History of Boston," a poem on the visit of Samuel Shattuck to Governor Endicott, written by Mr. Whittier, which led to some discussion as to the historical accuracy of Mr. Whittier's description.

A Memoir of Sylvester Judd, by Mr. Deane, one of George Sumner, by Mr. Waterston, and one of Edmund H. Sears, by Dr. Robbins, were then presented.

MEMOIR  
OF  
SYLVESTER JUDD.\*

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SYLVESTER JUDD was born in Westhampton, Massachusetts, April 23, 1789. He was a descendant of Deacon Thomas Judd, who came to this country from England in 1633 or 1634, and who resided during the last part of his life in Northampton. His grandfather, the Rev. Jonathan Judd, was the first minister of Southampton; and, after a ministry of sixty years, over the same church, died in 1803. His father, Sylvester Judd, settled in Westhampton in 1774, where he was prominent in the affairs of the town, and was a member of the Convention for framing a Constitution of Massachusetts in 1779. The mother of Mr. Judd was Hannah Burt, daughter of Samuel Burt, of Southampton.

At the age of thirteen, with only such an education as the common school in those times afforded, he was placed as a clerk in the "store" owned by his father and Dr. Hooker, of Westhampton. After remaining there about two years, he went to Boston, where he passed not far from six months, a part of the time serving as merchant's clerk. Here he fell in with persons of intelligence, whose influence served to stimulate him to an appreciation of knowledge and to a determination to cultivate his own mind; so that his return to his former occupation in Westhampton, after leaving Boston, marks an epoch in his mental history. Whatever money he could now get was invested in books, and all the leisure moments intervening between the calls of business were given

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\* Having accepted the appointment to furnish a notice of Mr. Sylvester Judd for the Society's Proceedings, I applied to a member of his surviving family for materials for the purpose, and my attention was kindly directed to a biographical sketch of Mr. Judd, — written by Miss Arethusa Hall, a sister-in-law of the deceased, — prefixed to his History of Hadley, from which, it was suggested, a compilation might be made. I found the sketch so apparently trustworthy as to facts, and on the whole so admirably drawn, that I thought I could not discharge my trust in a more acceptable manner than to adopt the greater part of it here substantially in the language in which it was written. Very little has been added by me. — C. D.

to their perusal. Yet this ill sufficed the thirst for knowledge that had arisen in his mind, and for many succeeding years he was in the habit of sitting up until twelve, one, and two o'clock at night, engaged with his books. And here, in this little country town, with no stimulus from libraries, reading-rooms, or literary companionship, and with no assistance in his studies, save a little aid he received from the Rev. Mr. Hale for about six weeks only, and under all the hindrances from business, Mr. Judd mastered the Latin language so far as to read Virgil; learned enough of Greek to understand the New Testament in the original; acquired a very thorough knowledge of French as a written language, and gained some acquaintance of Spanish. He went through a course of the higher Mathematics, studied History and Political Economy, and, indeed, made himself quite extensively acquainted with general literature. During this time he exercised himself also in composition, and contributed some articles to the Hampshire Gazette.

Soon after attaining the age of twenty-one, he formed a copartnership in mercantile business with William Hooker, Jr., and H. T. Hooker, whose places of business were Norwich, Northampton, and Westhampton, Mr. Judd remaining at Westhampton. In 1813 this copartnership was dissolved, and Mr. Judd carried on by himself the business of the store in which he had been employed, and also engaged, to some extent, in farming operations. But his mind being always more bent upon the acquisition of knowledge than the accumulation of property, the matter of dealing with dollars and cents was irksome to him; and from a variety of causes, his pecuniary gains were small, and all his business operations proved very discouraging. The year 1816 he devoted mostly to the gratuitous superintendence of building a new meeting-house in Westhampton. In 1817 he was chosen representative to the General Court, which he attended, contrary to his inclination, as he had a great distaste for public office.

In March, 1822, Mr. Judd purchased the Hampshire Gazette, one-fourth part of which had been owned by his deceased brother, Hophni Judd, Esq., and was then in the hands of his father. He took up his residence in Northampton in April of this year. All his energies were now concentrated upon making the "Gazette" not only an interesting, but an instructive paper. It was far from his idea that a newspaper should be filled with stories, anecdotes, and matter fitted only to amuse. He regarded it as an educator of the people, and occupied its columns with matter calcu-

lated to enlarge the boundaries of knowledge, and promote aspirations for further information concerning men and things. To enable him to do this, he expended money largely, in proportion to his means, in the purchase of books, from which he could furnish abstracts and extracts. The whole of the ponderous "Edinburgh Encyclopædia," together with numerous books of travel, history, agricultural works, &c., were thus added to his library. His attention now began to turn to the early history of the Connecticut Valley, and he occasionally published leading articles upon Northampton, Hadley, and the neighboring towns. He early enlisted the paper in behalf of temperance, and it is believed that he was the first who excluded liquor advertisements. The "Gazette" was highly esteemed by exchange papers, and doubled the number of its subscribers in his hands. Although in the main he had embraced Whig principles, yet he had nothing of the partisan in his nature, and his mind was ever open to the influx of what he believed to be the truth, coming from what quarter it might. In the party strife attending the administration of General Jackson as President, he found himself, as editor of what had been a Whig paper, in a position so embarrassing as to result in his selling the "Gazette" in 1834. In reference to the subject he wrote at the time: "The truth is, I have become too sceptical in politics to be the conductor of a public press. I have but little confidence in politics, parties, and politicians. I dislike high Whigism and high Jacksonism, and cannot go with either."

On laying aside his engagements as editor and proprietor of the Hampshire Gazette, Mr. Judd felt no inclination for entering into any new active business that offered, although his pecuniary resources were very limited. He therefore made up his mind to live on, in a humble way, upon such means as he had, thus leaving himself free for such mental occupations as he might be drawn to. At the age of seventeen, he had commenced filling manuscript volumes with copious abstracts of chronology, biography, history, &c., with occasional entries by way of private journal, which had been kept up, with more or less continuity, until this time. He now gave himself largely to miscellaneous collections, to a minute diary, and to genealogical, historical, and antiquarian researches, particularly with reference to the towns of Hampshire County, but extending also to the whole State of Massachusetts, and of Connecticut. As the fruit of these labors, he left about twenty manuscript volumes, entitled "Miscellanies," filled with an immense variety of little-known but

curious matters, drawn from divers times and divers peoples, and gleaned from a wide range of miscellaneous reading. Here are found copious notices of our Indian tribes, vocabularies of their languages, and facts touching their domestic life; the varied experiences of the early settlers of this country; English and Scotch social life and manners, dress, furniture, &c.; prices of labor and merchandise, at different periods; religious dogmas, contentions, modes of worship, showing, among other things, the great strife that arose in New England, at one time, respecting the use of *books* of psalms and hymns, instead of getting the words for singing by a process known as "deaconing"; the history of woman in regard to social position, education, &c.; opinions concerning marriage, divorce, and the relations of man to woman generally; snatches of old song and quaint poetry, as well as the higher inspirations of the poet. The above citations furnish but a mere *hint* as to the multifarious and rare matter contained in these volumes. In his diary of eight or ten volumes, which was continued with regularity from 1833 to within a week of his death, besides much that serves as autobiography and an exponent of his feelings, principles, and opinions, he recorded, with scrupulous regard to exactness, the tri-daily state of the thermometer; the changes of wind and weather; the different stages of vegetation; the appearance and disappearance of birds, frogs, and different kinds of insects, their habits, and so forth. There are volumes of collections labelled "Massachusetts" and "Connecticut." As a genealogist, it is stated by one well qualified to judge, that he "knew of no one who was his equal in New England." His labors in manuscript collections amount to not far from seventy-five closely filled volumes.

In the years 1842 and 1843, Mr. Judd was employed for some months by the State of Connecticut in putting in a state of preservation, arranging, and indexing, old and valuable State documents. He was made a member of the Connecticut and the Massachusetts Historical Societies and of the American Antiquarian Society. In 1856 he published a pamphlet, entitled, "Thomas Judd and his Descendants."

From the early part of his residence in Northampton, Mr. Judd had entertained the idea of writing a History of Northampton and the neighboring towns. But, from various causes, this was deferred, from year to year, until 1857; when, at the earnest solicitations of persons interested in the subject, particularly Major Sylvester Smith of Hadley, he commenced the History of the Town of Hadley, with a list of five hun-



dred subscribers. But his physical strength had now become impaired, so that he was subject to many interruptions from ill health; and this, added to his extreme caution in endeavoring to verify all his statements, caused the work to progress very slowly. Yet he labored on, with an assiduity ill proportioned to his strength, and thus cut short his days before his proposed task was done. Paralysis seized upon a system enfeebled by general debility, and accomplished its fatal work in a few days. The 18th of April, 1860, witnessed his departure. He had lived within a few days of seventy-one years, and his mind had retained its vigor while his bodily powers were enfeebled. He left a wife and five children. Three had already gone before, among whom was the Rev. Sylvester Judd, the author of "Margaret," and some other works.

He had printed about 430 pages of the 600 promised of his History of Hadley; and, it is believed, had little more to add to the work, except the genealogical tables, for which he had extensive materials in manuscript. His last conscious efforts of a business kind were expended in trying to send some directions to his printers. Immediately after his death, application was made to the Hon. Lucius M. Boltwood, of Amherst,—for whose qualifications as a genealogist it was known Mr. Judd had a high respect,—to take in charge the finishing of the work, so suddenly bereft of the hand that should have carried it to its completion; and, much to the gratification of the family of the author, this request was complied with.

Mr. Judd's labors as a genealogist were recognized by Mr. Savage, the late President of this Society, in the preface to the first volume of his "Genealogical Dictionary," published in 1860. After including his name in a list of persons who had contributed to the benefit of his pages, he concludes thus:—

"Not one of the living or dead could complain of my declaration, that from the distinguished antiquary of Northampton the acquisition exceeds that of any other ten contributors. Early in 1846 I had solicited the benefit of uniting his name with mine in producing these volumes; but, while he shrank from the responsibility of such unbroken labor, I can offer several hundred pages of letters to vouch for his sympathy to encourage my perseverance."

Mr. Judd married, in January, 1811, Miss Apphia Hall, eldest daughter of Aaron Hall, of Norwich, Massachusetts. It has already been mentioned that his wife and five children survived him.

MEMOIR  
OF  
GEORGE SUMNER.

BY ROBERT C. WATERSTON.

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GEORGE SUMNER, the son of Charles Pinckney Sumner, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, Feb. 5, 1817.

The father was a native of Milton, and graduated from Harvard College in 1796. After leaving college he entered the law office of Josiah Quincy, whose friendship and confidence he retained through life. In 1825 he was appointed sheriff of Suffolk County. He was a scholarly and honorable man, sustaining, both in public and private life, an unblemished reputation. Of his large family of children, Charles, the distinguished senator, was the eldest. George, six years younger, from his earliest childhood was of a cheerful and earnest nature; quick alike to observe and apprehend. The mother, intelligent and active, in the management of her children was firm yet gentle; while the father, serious and judicious in commanding obedience, retained alike their affection and respect. The influence of the parents did much to mould the character of the sons.

At the age of twelve, George entered the English High School, and graduated Aug. 4, 1832, with honor. As a scholar he held throughout good rank, and in character was unexceptionable. The few yet living who remember him after half a century speak of him with strong affection. One classmate writes: "The impression of George Sumner, as he appeared in boyhood, still lingers vividly in my mind, and I hope it may always continue to linger, with all the freshness of reality. He was a bright, intelligent fellow, eager for information. Quick in his motions, he was a great walker, and was constantly looking about as if anxious for something to learn. He was one of those diligent and inquiring minds, always ready to make the most of opportunities." Another classmate writes: "There was nothing about him of ostentation. His manner and conversation were always genial,

while in a remarkable degree he possessed that magnetic power which attracts. I will venture to say that if those early companions who survive him were asked to express an opinion of him, the exclamation would be: 'George Sumner, how we loved him!' Even at that time the world for him appeared not large enough; he seemed always in search of something he had not found."\*

Such were the characteristics of his early days. In him feminine and manly traits were blended: a delicacy and refinement of taste, with firmness, perseverance, and courage; a determination that nothing could shake, a desire for knowledge which seemed to know no bounds, and an expansiveness of grasp which it was difficult to limit. Through all his investigations he sought a solid basis, and was never satisfied until he arrived at fundamental principles. Thus, with a memory which never yielded what it had once acquired, and a power of adaptation by which all its knowledge was promptly at command, there were constant incitements to effort. A collegiate education would have been greatly prized; but, as this privilege had been granted to the elder brother, George by effort and self-sacrifice must gain such advantages as he desired through other channels.

In pursuance of this end, at the age of fifteen he entered the counting-room of Mr. T. B. Curtis. On the 20th September, 1832, the father writes to Mr. Curtis: "My son George wishes for a place in your store. If you see fit to receive him, you shall not suffer for any want of ability, integrity, or inclination to do his duty." Here he was received, and gave by punctuality, industry, and intelligent application, entire satisfaction. The business in which he was engaged was especially connected with commerce. But, with him, a knowledge of the mere technical details of business was not enough. While making himself familiar with the character of cargoes received and shipped, he determined to make himself familiar also with the methods and laws of trade prevailing in different nations; and not only to know the various growths and fabrics of countries, but their manners and customs, their history, literature, and institutions.

Added to the knowledge acquired, there occurred opportunities, in a business way, of ventures in vessels to and from different sections of the globe; which opportunities were so

\* The first statement is from a communication by his classmate, Stephen G. Deblois of this city; the second from a communication by his fellow-student, Andrew J. Loud, late cashier of the Second National Bank, who died soon after these words were written.

judiciously improved that, by the close of his apprenticeship, he had acquired what might be modestly considered, for a young man, a considerable property in his own right.

During this period of his apprenticeship, in 1835, at the age of eighteen, he made a journey to the White Mountains, walking much of the way. In an absence of sixteen days he travelled 468 miles, — 153 miles by stage, steamboat, and railroad, and 315 miles on foot. He often walked thirty and forty miles a day. He kept a journal, making note of all he saw, the persons he met, and the facts he gathered; the beauty and grandeur of the scenery greatly impressed him.

In the autumn of 1837 he took a more extended circuit, going to New York, up the Hudson, and thence to Niagara, then proceeding to Erie and Pittsburg, and by the Cumberland road to Washington. Crossing the Alleghany Mountains, he visited Harper's Ferry, wandered on the banks of the Shenandoah and the Potomac, attended an Indian council, at which the Secretary of War and a delegation of twenty-six Indian chiefs and braves held debate, and smoked the calumet, passing the pipe, according to the custom, from hand to hand. He visited the various public buildings, and saw all that was to be seen, gathering information wherever he went. Having been introduced to various officials, and had a conversation with the President at the White House, he went to Alexandria, and thence on foot to Mount Vernon; where, from the oak shading the grave of Washington, he gathered some acorns, which he prized as precious memorials of his pilgrimage to that sacred place.

In the autumn of this year (1837) his brother Charles went to Europe. The last thing he did, even after he had embarked, was to write a parting word to George. This letter, dated, "On board ship 'Albany,' Friday, December 8th," is expressive not only of his attachment to his brother, but of the high estimate he put upon his brother's ability: "You have talents and acquirements," he writes, "which are remarkable, and which, with well-directed application, will carry you to any reasonable point of human distinction."

Soon after the departure of Charles, early in the year 1838, arrangements were completed by which George was to go as supercargo of a brig, owned by Messrs. Samuel C. & F. A. Gray, sailing first to Charleston, where the vessel was to take in a cargo of rice and cotton, and then proceed to St. Petersburg. George, as supercargo, was to arrange the purchase and shipment of the cargo at Charleston, the sale of the same at Copenhagen or St. Petersburg, together with the

purchase and shipment of a return freight, after which he was to be at liberty to go where he pleased.

A letter from Colonel Greene to the Hon. G. M. Dallas, Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States to St. Petersburg, shows that Mr. Sumner went with other than business purposes. It was well understood that Mr. Sumner was to travel; and the letters readily furnished him, show that, young as he was, he was even then held in high esteem, and that there was no hesitation, among men of the highest position, to recommend him to eminent persons abroad.

On Saturday morning, Feb. 24, 1838, George Sumner bade farewell to the old family home, and left Boston; and, after one severe storm encountered on the passage, they arrived, on the seventh day, at Charleston, South Carolina, in safety. The vessel was soon loaded, five thousand dollars having been expended for cotton on his own account. They were now ready to depart for Russia.

Before they left, however, letters were received from the Secretary of State at Washington, requesting Mr. Sumner to act as the bearer of despatches to the American Legation at St. Petersburg, with a cordial personal letter from Mr. Forsyth, expressing special consideration, and requesting that all civilities should be extended usual to messengers of state. Letters were also received from Judge Story, then on the Bench of the Supreme Court, expressing strong regard, and commending Mr. Sumner to the good will and generous courtesy of Mr. Dallas and others.

On Sunday morning, March 18th, the vessel hauled out, and was soon on her way to Copenhagen and St. Petersburg.

A pleasant account is given by Mr. Sumner of this voyage. They went to the north of Ireland and Scotland, passing within sight of the Hebrides; running between the desolate shores of the Shetland and Orkney Islands over a rough sea. On the 15th April, with the coast of Sweden and Denmark on either side, they entered the narrow pass of the Skager Rack, soon after which Elsinore came in sight. The day following, April 16th (exactly twenty-six days after leaving Charleston), Mr. Sumner set foot upon the shores of the Old World.

At Elsinore he examined the scenes associated with Hamlet, Prince of Denmark. Here, being detained by ice, which blocked up the Baltic, their vessel was delayed, giving them time at Copenhagen to see all the objects of interest in that remarkable city, and to become acquainted with many of the leading men, among whom were several literary and scientific

professors, who extended to him the most cordial welcome, and offered every courtesy. Museums, courts of law, libraries, collections of art, were all thrown open to him.

After remaining in Denmark four weeks, on the 10th of May the vessel was able to proceed. On the 19th they reached the Fortress of Cronstadt, and on the 20th they arrived at St. Petersburg.

As his cargo was the first from America to arrive in port, he was fortunately able to dispose of it to excellent advantage, and to secure desirable return freight. Early in June, he writes: "Thus far I have devoted myself strictly to business, postponing every thing else until I have sent back the vessel in which I came out. How successful I have been may be inferred from the fact that mine is the only vessel, out of four Americans, which has a return cargo, and that she will be away from Russia before any other vessel this year."

In connection with what Mr. Sumner now proposed to himself in the way of extensive foreign travel, it should be remembered that he was not yet twenty-two years of age; that he was alone, and had no special advantages or superabundance of means. Economical habits, simple tastes, and a readiness to face hardships wherever necessary, were among his qualifications. Books of voyages and travels had long been a delight, exciting into a passion his curiosity. History had stimulated inquiry, and a general thirst for knowledge added to his zeal. To travel through the various countries of which he had read, — Russia, Circassia, Turkey, Greece, Hungary, Spain; to become personally familiar with Syria and Palestine; to wander on foot through Germany, France, and Italy; to climb the mountains of the Tyrol and of Switzerland, — these were among the dreams that haunted him. He longed to know the languages and the literatures of nations; to examine libraries, museums, schools, prisons, hospitals; to look into educational systems and methods of reform, institutions, customs, and laws; to observe man, as represented by various races, and nature, as it is developed in different climes; to trace civilization through its progress, and watch it in its different stages. These were, in part, the purposes he cherished. Not for mere amusement or idle recreation did he desire to travel, but to gain such knowledge, by large experience, as would expand his powers, and enable him to be of wider usefulness, and to return home at last with information which might be of value to others.

Fifteen years would thus pass before he would see again his native land. Standing, as he now did, on the threshold of

the unknown future, little did he imagine that so long a time would elapse before he should recross the Atlantic. A young man, he stood with the countries he proposed to visit all around him like so many sealed books. How could he expect that for him the seals would be broken?

It will be remembered that before he left America he visited Mount Vernon, and that while there he gathered some acorns from the oak that shades the tomb of Washington. One of those acorns he had with him; and on Friday morning, June 22d, the thought came to him while yet in St. Petersburg, "Perhaps this acorn, from its association with the memory of Washington, might be acceptable to the Emperor." The deed with George Sumner generally followed very closely upon the thought. He at once carried out the idea. The acorn was enclosed in a simple envelope, with this inscription:—

"For His Imperial Majesty Nicholas I.,  
Emperor of all the Russias, &c., &c."

Within was written:—

"The enclosed acorn, from the oak-tree which shades the grave of the immortal Washington, is presented to the Emperor of the Russias, as a tribute of respect, from

"AN AMERICAN."

In an accompanying letter to the Czar, he said:—

"Will your Majesty permit an American citizen, proud of the name, to congratulate himself on being in an empire which has always pursued a high and honorable course towards his own country? Russia has always been the friend of the United States. It was one of the first to acknowledge the independence of my country, and it has ever since stood forward as her friend and mediator. This happy union of unbroken friendship commenced with Washington, whose feelings and opinions were friendly to Russia; and it has been preserved by his successors in the American Government.

"Will your Majesty permit an American, travelling to see the wonders of this vast empire, to offer for your acceptance, as a slight tribute of respect and admiration, a souvenir of the immortal Washington? The acorn which accompanies this was plucked by me from over his grave. Although of no intrinsic value, yet the association may perhaps render it acceptable from

"A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA."

This letter, with the package, having been duly sent to the palace, was promptly forwarded, by officers in attendance, to



Peterhof, the summer palace of the Czar. It would not be unnatural if we should desire to know the result. Some persons might doubtless conjecture that a gift so insignificant would be looked upon both as an intrusion and impertinence. Not so was it received by the Emperor Nicholas. The originality of the act pleased him. Royal favors of princely value were often received. Here was a gift, simple and natural, accompanied by no courtly parade, whose whole worth consisted in its association with the memory of Washington. This touched the right chord in his nature. It was evident that nothing could have gratified him more.

Mr. Sumner immediately received a note requesting his presence at the War Department. On presenting himself, at the appointed hour, he was escorted to the council-room, when, after formal recognition, the Minister of War stated that he was charged to express the gratification Mr. Sumner's letter and gift had given the Emperor. The acorn had been carefully planted near the summer palace, while, as a mark of special consideration, a position had been selected for it on the grounds where still stands the cottage once occupied by Peter the Great, and where it would be watched over with constant care. The Emperor, he added, had ever cherished sincere respect for the American people, and held in highest honor the memory of Washington.

It was further said that during Mr. Sumner's stay in St. Petersburg, and in his travels through Russia, every facility would be furnished him; all institutions he might wish to visit would be open to him, and any information desired should be furnished; that as Minister of War he had been charged with the execution of this order; and that on Mr. Sumner's departure from St. Petersburg he would be furnished with letters of introduction to the Governors-General of Moscow, Odessa, and other parts of the empire, to which places official intelligence to this effect would at once be forwarded. It was also stated that, by the imperial order, an officer would be placed at Mr. Sumner's disposal, who, whenever he should desire it, would accompany him to such institutions and places as he might wish to visit; who would make beforehand any needed arrangements, acting as interpreter, and gaining any information required.\*

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\* The acorn which has been here mentioned as having been presented by Mr. Sumner to the Emperor in 1838, we are told, was planted by order of the Emperor at Peterhof. The question may be asked: Do we know whether the acorn became an oak? and if so, had it any special value as associated with Washington and America?

Mr. Sumner, having expressed his obligation at this unexpected honor, and at the very flattering manner in which the message of the Emperor had been conveyed, withdrew.

Under such advantages, during Mr. Sumner's residence at St. Petersburg, he visited galleries of art, museums and palaces, military academies and schools, prisons and hospitals; in fact, all philanthropic and educational institutions of every description, gathering information, documents, statistics, and making record of every thing which he thought might be of value.

Among other invitations, he received official notice that the Emperor would receive him at the Anitschkow Palace on Sunday after mass, and that an officer of the household had been appointed to wait upon him to the palace. Here he was met by the Emperor with great cordiality. The conversation was at first in French; but English words being introduced, the Emperor said, "Ah, you prefer English? I do not speak it well; I will call an interpreter"; and leaving the room, he

Three years after Mr. Sumner's death, 1866, there was an attempt to assassinate Alexander, the successor of Nicholas. His life was saved; and the American Government, through the National Congress, passed resolutions of congratulation, as an expression of sympathy and good will; and more than this, they voted that these resolutions should be carried to Russia, and presented to the Emperor by Mr. Fox, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and three national vessels were ordered to go with this mission to St. Petersburg.

On arrival of these vessels, Mr. Fox and the American officers were received with every honor, and were invited by the Emperor to Peterhof, the summer palace. There they were taken through the grounds, and Mr. Fox speaks of the many objects of interest; but that which interested them the most was an oak-tree which grew from an acorn brought from the grave of Washington, and presented to the Emperor by an American. The words of Mr. Fox, in his official account, are as follows: "Our officers surrounded the young tree with a feeling akin to religious sentiment. Each reverently plucked a leaf from its branches to carry home with him, to testify how profound is the homage paid in Russia to the memory of the great founder of our Republic."—See Narrative of the Mission to Russia in 1866, p. 96.

This occurred twenty-eight years after the acorn was given and planted. The first telegraphic message ever sent from Russia to America by the Atlantic cable brought this account of Mr. Fox's reception by the Emperor to the American Congress. It was dated Aug. 8, 1866.

In 1871 (five years later) the Grand Duke Alexis, son of the Emperor Alexander, visited the United States, and was received in our cities with due honor. He visited Boston, and, among other places, came to the rooms of the Massachusetts Historical Society, where he was received by the Hon. R. C. Winthrop, the President, and other members. In company with the Grand Duke were the Russian Minister to the United States, Mr. Catacazy, and Admiral Possiet, of the Russian Navy. The latter gentleman presented the Society several oak-leaves which he had brought from Peterhof. The leaves were taken from an oak which grew from an acorn gathered at the grave of Washington, and presented to his Imperial Majesty by an American. This statement, in Russian, accompanied the leaves, and, with the translation, they are now framed in the rooms of the Society. "It is understood (says the record of the Society), that this acorn was presented to the Emperor of Russia by our late Associate, George Sumner."—See Proceedings of Mass. Hist. Soc., 1871-73, pp. 174, 219.

soon returned with the Empress and their two daughters, Marie and Olga. The ladies spoke English fluently, and a pleasant conversation followed, first respecting Russia, after which inquiries were made upon the appearance and character of the American aborigines, and the peculiarities of American scenery and society. During the conversation, the writings of several of our authors were alluded to, as if familiarly known. The interview was friendly, with the intentional absence of court formality; and, on taking leave, the Emperor and his family extended the most earnest good wishes.

It is easy to understand that to persons of their rank (usually hedged in by ceremonies) this young man's visit, fresh from a different world, must have been an agreeable incident; while to him such an event could not be otherwise than gratifying.

A few evenings after this reception, Mr. Sumner attended a ball at which the imperial family were present. The scene was supremely brilliant. The Emperor and his family mixed easily with the company. They pleasantly recognized their young American visitor, meeting him with marked courtesy.

On the 5th February, 1839, he left St. Petersburg. The railroad had not yet been introduced, and he was obliged to travel often in the roughest manner, and in the old Russian style. He describes Novgorod and other quaint old towns, with their peculiar costumes and ancient customs. In many particulars these places were three or four centuries behind the rest of the world. In about three days he was at Moscow, with its gilded spires and domes, oriental as Bagdad, Asiatic in its aspect,—the Jerusalem of Russia. Mr. Sumner found that his official letters from St. Petersburg opened to him all institutions, and secured for him every privilege. If space would allow, interesting statements could be introduced; but all that can be here said is, that he improved every opportunity, keeping a full record from day to day of his varied experience. The same may be said of his travels throughout Russia. Nothing seemed to escape his observation. Churches, convents, asylums, schools, colleges, prisons, hospitals, observatories, libraries, museums, galleries, trades, manufactories, agriculture, all were with him matters of study and comment,—the people, their ignorance and their cultivation; their privations and their advantages; methods of punishment and means of reform. Here he watched convicts leaving for Siberia; and again, he compared the traits of different classes and tribes. Now he searched into ruins and

antiquities, and now drew inferences from singular types of public and private structures, with their peculiar ornamentation and styles of architecture. At Odessa, he examined minutely the Russian manner of shipbuilding, and made note of many interesting facts respecting the Russian navy. By special invitation, he was taken in a government ship to the Crimea. Bearing letters from the Governor-General to Admiral Lazareo, then commanding the fleet at Sevastopol, and also to the civil governor of Kirch and Simperopol, the chief engineer having charge of the government works took him over the dry docks, five in number, — two for frigates, and three for ships, — explaining the various arrangements. Every hospitality was extended to him. In speaking of Sevastopol, and the strength of its fortifications, "It may," he says, "almost be compared to Gibraltar. At the entrance of the harbor are the Constantine and Alexander batteries, one with two and the other with three rows of guns, in bomb-proof chambers, the ports opening through finely hammered white stone." He speaks of Balaclava, with its hills of rock and its curious harbor, the rocks completely crested with ruined walls and towers, and higher than any masts: "The water is excessively deep, and so encircled that it is perfectly still here, however stormy the sea may be without." "Balaclava itself is a small town with narrow streets, the population half Greek and half Tartar. Many old coins with Greek inscriptions are found here." "We passed," he adds, "a marriage procession of Tartars, in their holiday suit of silk, and mounted on horseback, going to the house of the father to bring the daughter to her intended husband. This was the commencement of the Tartar experiences that awaited me in the Crimea."

It seems strange to read in these days of scenes, then so peaceful, since familiar with the most appalling horrors of war; of battlements and bulwarks, then apparently impregnable, now utterly demolished.

More than forty years have passed since Mr. Sumner bade farewell to Russia. Great changes have taken place in that empire. But the description of society as it then was, of the government and institutions as they were at that time conducted, has in some respects even an added value. We will only remark that no courtesy he received, however great, ever blinded him to existing imperfections, or deterred him from expressing an honest criticism. He met everywhere with hospitality and kindness, but with these he was always left in the enjoyment of a manly freedom.

After leaving Russia, he visited Circassia, Constantinople,

Smyrna, Scio, Rhodes, Cyprus, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Sicily, Malta, Greece. Of all these places he gave in journals and letters interesting accounts. Respecting Greece, he wrote an elaborate paper, which was published in the "Democratic Review" in 1840. He next visited Elba, Hungary, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Holland, England, Scotland and Ireland, France and Spain. In several of these countries he passed a year, visiting all places of interest, and making diligent search into ancient records. In Spain, in France, and in Hungary, he was present at most interesting and exciting periods, — times of revolution. In Hungary, he knew personally Kosuth; in Spain, he was on terms of intimate friendship with Washington Irving, and saw the overthrow of Espartero; and in France, that of Louis Philippe. In the latter country, he passed many years in daily intercourse with such men as Tocqueville and Lamartine, Circourt, and the ablest men of that time.

In 1842 he prepared a paper on the Indians of North America for the Berlin Geographical Society, and an able article from his pen was published on Afghanistan in the July number of the "North American Review" of that year. At this time he had been chosen a member of antiquarian and historical societies in Germany, in France, and afterward in Spain. While in Spain, he made elaborate researches in the archives at Seville, and in Holland prepared a valuable paper on the Pilgrims, which was published in the Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. xxix. pp. 42-74.

In the spring of 1845 Mr. Sumner met repeatedly Alexander von Humboldt, at that time in his seventy-sixth year, who still maintained, in the maturity of age, the vigor and vivacity of youth. This wonderful man, with his unexampled prodigality of knowledge, the scientific explorer of continents, brilliant as he was profound, who seemed to throw, without effort, around all who approached him an irresistible fascination, not only met Mr. Sumner with a warm cordiality, but extended to him often the privilege of his instructive conversations. Alexander von Humboldt, in a letter dated May 19, 1845, apologizing to Mr. Sumner for not writing sooner, says: —

Monsieur, I am culpable toward you, whose conversation — animated, varied, *spirituelle* — has left on me an impression which will not soon be effaced. The critical remarks which you have been so good as to communicate to me, on Aliacus, Gerson, Oviedo, and Christopher Columbus, are very precious to me; and if, notwithstanding the imprudence of the *Cosmos* which I have taken upon my feeble shoul-

ders, I am able before my death to publish the last volume of my *Geography of the Fifteenth Century*, I shall profit by the notices which I owe to you.

But what I have more at heart is, that you should enrich the literature of your noble country by publishing fragments, at least, of your travels.

Receive, I pray you, the expression of the high consideration which I entertain for you.

A. HUMBOLDT.

In the autumn of 1845 he received a letter from Dr. Francis Lieber, at that time Professor of History and Political Economy in the college at Columbia, South Carolina, proposing the mutual editorship of certain important works,—two or three additional volumes of the "*Encyclopædia Americana*," also a *People's Dictionary* in five volumes. He urges him to unite with him in this great literary enterprise, and offers to divide with him the profits, saying, "There is no American who knows Europe so well as you do, and no European who knows America better than I do. I think we might do something together."

In 1846 Mr. Sumner sent a letter from Paris to the mayor and city government of Boston on the subject of prisons. This includes the result of his visits through seven years to the prisons of almost every European state. The city of Boston was at that time making arrangement for the erection of a new jail. This letter was printed by the city government, forming a pamphlet of twenty-four pages, and its facts and statements had their influence in the plans of the new building.

In 1847 he wrote a letter to Dr. Howe on the education of idiots, showing the methods adopted in France, with the results. This elaborate paper, including the examination of different institutions, and containing many important suggestions, was published by the legislature of Massachusetts, forming a pamphlet of sixteen pages.

An appropriation was made by the State, and a school established under the supervision of Dr. Howe, which school has now been in successful operation for more than thirty years.

The same year Mr. Sumner published a letter to Lamartine on certain errors relating to American history in his work on "*The Girondists*." The errors reflected discredit upon this country. The facts were so clearly and fairly presented by Mr. Sumner, that Lamartine not only corrected his misstatements, but included the letter in the Appendix to the next edition.



France had become a centre of great interest to Mr. Sumner. He had watched through many years the important influence she exercised upon the movement of events in Europe. Holding in her hand the balance of power, and as a vital force making herself felt through a wide circumference, she has given to the world through a series of centuries, poets, historians, artists, and philosophers. To use his own words, "She has taken a prominent part in the practical application of science to the arts. In the early history of America, by her missionaries and travellers, she was the first to explore the mysteries of the Great West, while for the helping hand which she gave to us in our hour of extreme peril she must always be regarded with feelings of gratitude and sympathy by every true American."

Partly from this feeling, Paris had become to Mr. Sumner like a home. Its language was now familiar to him as his native tongue. Many of its scholars, its statesmen, its artists, its distinguished citizens, had become his personal friends. Many of its most attractive homes welcomed him to their hospitalities, so that he no longer considered himself as a stranger. Its galleries of art were his delight; its libraries were open for his research; within a few hours he could be in Switzerland, Germany, or Holland, or in about the same time could cross the Channel and take up his residence in England. Every part of Great Britain had some attraction for him, while from Paris he could quickly be at Rouen, inquiring about Joan of Arc, or in Caen, musing over the tomb of William the Conqueror.

When Mr. Sumner first entered France, it presented to the casual observer one extended scene of peace and prosperity. Its gay capital seemed the very centre of brilliancy and beauty. Louis Philippe, as the monarch of a powerful kingdom, held undisputed sway. Surrounded by an immense army, with a Chamber of Deputies and a House of Peers devoted to his purposes; by sagacity, shrewdness, and diplomacy apparently the master of all parties; with accumulated wealth and personal advantages which he had understood well how to multiply, he seemed indeed invincible. Yet at that very time there was hollowness under this imposing superstructure, and combustible materials which a spark might ignite. Wrongs there were — chartered rights violated, solemn promises broken, privileges curtailed — which by the nation could neither be overlooked nor forgotten; a grasping policy, a selfish aggrandizement, with a cleverness only too keen, seeking to subordinate every thing at home to its arbitrary will, and to fortify



itself abroad by foreign alliances. All this more and more kindled the people into indignation and scorn.

Mr. Sumner recognized what was transpiring at an early day. In the year 1844 he wrote from Spain: "Louis Philippe may find that a dangerous experiment has been tried. People will see how easy it is to overthrow a regency, and the lesson taught by a neighboring State will not be forgotten at home."

With an eye that could not be blinded, he saw through the character of the king, and read rightly the mind of the people. His prediction of coming results was like the infallible warning of approaching storms by the signal service while the sky is yet clear. Letter after letter, both to this country and England, foretold what must be. Up to the 21st of February, 1848, the king sat in smiling serenity, without one apprehensive thought. On the 24th, his throne was borne triumphantly along the Boulevards, and burnt on the site of the ancient Bastile. On that day the populace were in possession of the Tuileries, and the king had precipitately fled. France was a republic, and a provisional government was declared.

Mr. Sumner was in Paris during the whole of this wonderful movement. Through long months that preceded it, he had studied the elements that were at work; and, with his innate love of progress and freedom, he had watched with intense interest the development of affairs. His natural affinity was with such men as Tocqueville, Arago, and Lamartine. Particular measures he questioned, but that spirit which encourages improvement and renovation he admired. He was often present at meetings where public measures were discussed, and, mingling with the people, by request at times took part in their debates.

More than once he listened to the noble eloquence of Lamartine, who alone, amid the tempest and the hurricane, could effectively say, "Peace, be still!" "It has been my fortune," writes Mr. Sumner, "to be thrown in contact with several members of the provisional government, and to witness the difficulties which Lamartine has had to encounter, — difficulties which few men could have resisted, but over which he has triumphed for the maintenance of peace and gradual progress. He was the noblest Roman of them all, and against him the old dynastic party has levelled all its batteries of abuse.

"Lamartine has won for himself a proud niche, which history will reserve for him, among those great citizens who have

sacrificed present popularity and braved calumny in order to save their country.

"Lamartine foresaw the great struggle of parties, and to diminish the enemies' force he kept by his side, out of the power to do mischief, Ledru Rollin. Had Rollin led the insurgents, their temporary triumph was certain in Paris, and civil war, long-continued, between Paris and the provinces, inevitable.

"Lamartine has saved France from this calamity as he has saved civilization from the calamity of a European war. All this time he has been obliged to labor alone, and meet at every step the criminal acts of men who wished to provoke a war of propagandism. I look for yet further attacks upon this great man. Many men can float with the tide; few have the courage to stand against it."

During the bitterest of the struggle, Mr. Sumner visited the hospitals, offering such aid to the wounded as he might be able to extend, and rendering every service within his power. "During the whole of Friday," he writes, "and part of Saturday, I was behind the barricades, endeavoring to preach common sense."

"Let me," he says, "as an eye-witness, bear evidence to the moderation which the people showed in their days of triumph. They have been charged with having sacked the Tuileries, and with having committed, while there, acts of violence. I entered the Tuileries soon after the flight of Louis Philippe; I saw it again constantly afterwards; and, excepting the destruction of the throne-room, the damage was only what would naturally follow so unexpected a rush of visitors. Self-appointed sentinels stood at every door searching those who left, while among those who still wandered within the palace good-humored curiosity prevailed. I remember in one of the apartments a group was formed around a mere lad, who had thrown down his sabre, and, holding in his hands one of Catlin's pictures of a Buffalo Hunt, was giving thereupon a lecture on the habits of the animal." "During a period of three months," he continues, "when foreign journals describe the city as given up to anarchy, the records of the police show, as compared with preceding years, a diminution of crime. A sentiment of self-respect was aroused in those who from *subjects* had become *citizens*."

Under the monarchy of Louis Philippe the masses had been shut out from political privileges, and their education left uncared for. Thirty-five millions of people had no power to vote; all appeals for the extension of the franchise were re-

sisted. This could be endured no longer. Added to this were two evils. The absence of a proper education had produced an ignorance easily imposed upon, while the fact that all public discussions were prohibited by law had led to the formation of secret societies, where socialistic and impracticable views were promulgated, which could receive no refutation. The open expression of opinion having been silenced, the people listened in their private conclaves to those dangerous and seductive counsellors who promised impossibilities. Through these secret societies the minds of the people had been kindled to a fever heat, and flattered into the most extravagant expectations.

Such was the condition of affairs. It was the natural fruit of misgovernment. Courageous and devoted men stood in the breach which led to anarchy. But some of the members chosen to the provisional government, while honest of purpose, had but little political knowledge, and under the pressure of circumstances were led into serious mistakes. Antagonisms existed which it was difficult to harmonize. Dreamy anticipations by many had been cherished which could not be realized. The harvest should ripen before it is gathered. Much that was old had been found defective, it was not the work of an instant to gain what was best adapted to take its place. All honor to those who, under circumstances most perilous, succeeded so well.

"To the hasty observer," we use the words of Mr. Sumner, "France may well seem an enigma difficult, if not impossible, to comprehend. At one moment rising erect, shaking off the yoke of royalty, and standing up apparently the very champion of freedom, and the next moment rushing with seeming blindness into the lower depths of despotism. Is all this the result of a wild impulse, a mere fickleness of character? I believe that in France there has been no change without good cause; that every change has arisen from some defect of interior organization; and that by each struggle made France has been brought the better to know herself, and has been actually advanced in the path of improvement. Every candid mind will, I believe, after examining the facts, admit that no government of France has fallen which deserved to stand. It would have been doubtless far better that those in power should have made the reforms which have been won by revolution. Revolutions are always both expensive and hazardous experiments. For a time they must interfere both with public and private prosperity. Besides which, the forces necessary to overturn abuses are not generally those which

are best adapted to build up commodious and enduring structures. In all these changes the laws of the moral world appear as certain as those of the physical, — action and reaction. But in France each movement has shown less and less violence. Each succeeding swing of the political pendulum has been less long than that which preceded it. A few more oscillations will no doubt take place, but each one will bring it nearer and nearer to the true equilibrium."

Mr. Sumner, in the spring of 1852, after an absence of fourteen years, returned to his native land. He was at this time thirty-five years of age, in the full vigor of life, and richly laden with the results of his extensive travels and varied experiences. We have good evidence that he had not been idle, and proof that he was ever ready to use the fruit of his industry for the advantage of others. There is constant testimony to his generous attention to strangers who had brought to him letters from abroad, and often among his papers are hearty acknowledgments from friends for valuable services received. Requests often came to him for information, requiring on his part time and effort, which he never refused to give. Officers in public institutions, statesmen in responsible positions, applied to him for statistics and facts, which he seemed never reluctant to supply. Foreign papers and journals were open to a very remarkable degree for communications from his pen. The French and English, Poles and Hungarians, not seldom asked and received his aid. We have seen also that he never forgot his own country when any service could be rendered.

This also was a noticeable trait of his character: wherever he might be, while interested in public affairs, and not regardless of distinguished talent, he neither overlooked nor neglected any personal friends, whatever might be their position, either lofty or humble. Thus, when he took leave of Europe, he left behind him many warm hearts; and when he came here, he found many as warm to give him welcome.

He sailed by the "Arctic" on the 7th of April, and arrived safely in New York "after," as he says, "a somewhat rough but very agreeable passage."

The following brief extract from a letter to Charles by his sister Julia will show the spirit of affection which dwelt in that home, and the strength of that attachment which bound its members to each other, — an attachment which years of separation could not change: —

"MY DEAR CHARLES, — George arrived last Wednesday, between five and six in the afternoon. All day long I could hardly believe that in a few hours the meeting would actually take place which we had been for so many years looking forward to and longing for. But he came! and so affectionate, so bright, so cheerful, so ready to be pleased with every thing, I cannot tell you how happy I have been since he came. In all my life I have not known such happiness, and so great. A new brother, a new treasure, a new source of happiness seemed suddenly to have been given me.

"He did not look to me at first as I had expected. If I had met him in the street I do not think I should have known him, and mother said she thought she should not have known him; but all the old look comes back the more we see him.

"Professor Longfellow and Mr. Prescott, and Dr. George Hayward and Dr. Howe, and many others, have called very promptly. George has been all over the house, and seems to remember every nook and cranny. He recognizes the improvements that were made before he left, and those which have been made since. He has brought home a great many boxes of books, and we are to have new bookcases made for them."

Alas! as we read these fresh and glowing lines, the natural expression of an ardent nature overflowing with innocent joy, we cannot but remember that the sister, the mother, George, and Charles have all gone; that home, then so happy, is silent now. But those pleasant hours of the past shall not be wholly forgotten.

"Boston," George writes, "strikes me most pleasantly. The houses present an architectural show which I had little counted on. It has become a city of palaces!" Longfellow and Sparks and Felton and Prescott extended their hospitalities, as did also Hillard and Hayward and Howe. "Last evening," he writes, "I went with Dr. Parkman to the Wednesday-Evening Club, where I met Winthrop and Savage, and Cary and Young." Kind and cordial greetings were everywhere extended to him after his long absence.

Gradually the city, the commonwealth, the country acquired a familiar look. Of the years that followed we shall speak only in general terms. Great changes had taken place. Every thing seemed in a transition state. He endeavored at first quietly to look on, — to study the development of affairs, the new social aspects, the growth of principles. By degrees fresh interests were awakened, and he felt himself drawn into the current that was sweeping every thing onward.

Socially his position was most agreeable. Surrounded by the highest culture, every taste could be gratified. His knowledge, his humor and wit, his rich fund of pleasant anecdote,

made him a welcome visitor. His genial spirit, his sympathetic nature, found a ready response, and gained lasting friendships. All over the country, at the West as well as the East, he found a charming circle of friends, with a seat ever ready at the table, and a welcome by the fireside.

In the spring of 1853 Mr. Sumner was called to Washington, and offered the position of Assistant Secretary of State, both the President and Mr. Marey urging his acceptance of the office, for which his extensive diplomatic knowledge most peculiarly fitted him. This offer he felt obliged to decline, stating that he was neither an applicant nor a candidate for office; that he would gladly render any aid within his power in an emergency, would willingly give his views, if desired, upon any difficult question, but that he sought no office. He felt that, under existing circumstances, his freedom of thought might be compromised; and, while keenly alive to the honor of his country, he preferred to serve her as an independent citizen.

Questions vital to the country were under immediate consideration; antagonistic principles were at work; ominous signs were in the atmosphere. It was evident that a great conflict was drawing nigh. The Fugitive Slave Law, the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the Kansas and Nebraska Bill were exciting discussion. Then came the Dred Scott decision, sounding over the land like a death-knell. If there was a momentary calmness, it was the calmness that precedes the hurricane. The principles involved went down to the very foundations of the republic. The two brothers, Charles and George, saw and felt the coming-on of a momentous crisis. They both realized that they were standing in one of the great periods of the world's history. Charles was laboring in the Senate, George wherever he could gain a hearing. Industrious and unwearied, he toiled without ceasing. He had duties, and sought to perform them. He neither gave way to despondency nor exultation, but quietly and earnestly he did the work that presented itself. In the year 1856 two events took place, one affecting his brother Charles and the other his brother Albert. In May, Charles, while seated at his desk in the Senate Chamber, was attacked from behind, and by a ruthless blow felled to the floor. George instantly hastened to Washington and devoted himself to his brother, whose life for a time had been endangered, and who was disabled for a long period. In the autumn his brother Albert sailed from New York in a French steamer for Havre. They were in a severe storm; the vessel was run into and wrecked.



Albert Sumner, with his wife and only daughter, entered a boat, pushed off amid the fury of the waves, and were never heard from after. Thus two severe domestic trials came within a twelvemonth, both involving grievous personal affliction. The settlement of his brother's estate fell upon him, involving much financial care.

The columns of many of the leading papers and journals were open to his pen, and he found frequent opportunity of expressing his views. Such communications, by wide circulation, and the eagerness of an intelligent and almost universally reading public, exerted an influence by no means insignificant.

Added to this, Mr. Sumner became widely known as a public speaker. His manner was attractive. Subdued yet earnest, there was a calmness and clearness which, blended with an indefinable force, became at times electric. He took such subjects as "Russia," "Spain," "France," "Holland." In discoursing upon these countries he embodied his own personal experience, enlivening his accounts with a fine and delicate humor, interspersed with graphic descriptions of customs and manners, the aspects of society, the spirit of institutions, the character of laws, the growth of governments, the outlines of history.

This opened a wide field, and afforded ample opportunity for substantial information and entertaining detail; while thus portraying other nations, their errors and virtues, their struggles and wrongs, their convulsions, revolutions, and reforms, the principles that drag down or build up a people, the laws that elevate or crush, were presented to the mind. Different types of civilization rose before the thought, and in the experience of foreign lands there was ever that suggested, and often with tremendous force, and all the more so because unlooked for, which, through history, spoke as with the authority of Divine Providence in its applicability to our own republic. These lectures were given in successive years throughout New England and the Middle States, from Cape Ann to the Rocky Mountains, and from the Lakes through the whole valley of the Mississippi. The ablest men in the country were in the lecture-field, yet with all this competition Mr. Sumner was often engaged through the whole year in advance, and obliged to decline more invitations than he could accept; and wherever he had once been he was the more sure to be again invited.

He was also called upon to deliver educational and literary addresses before conventions and colleges, and carefully pre-



pared papers were read by him before historical and other societies of which he was a member. Added to this, in answer to solicitations, he addressed meetings of citizens upon the great problems then agitating the country,—the social and political questions which were vital to the nation's existence.

Among the occasions upon which Mr. Sumner was called to speak during this period was at the ceremony of laying the corner-stone of the monument at Plymouth in memory of the Pilgrim Fathers. At the Pilgrim Festival in 1845 the Hon. Edward Everett, in alluding to Mr. Sumner's labors in Holland, designated them as "a more accurate research than had ever before been instituted." In 1853 Mr. Sumner was invited to unite with the Pilgrim Society in their celebration. Not able to be present, owing to engagements in the far West, he wrote a letter from Madison City, Wisconsin, in which he says: "Most grateful would it be to my feelings to meet those assembled to do honor to men who gave up the comforts of home rather than sacrifice a principle. It would be pleasant, on such an occasion, to retrace the wanderings of the Pilgrims, and from the Rock of Plymouth go back in imagination to the little church at Austerfield, under the shadow of which the first governor of Plymouth was born, and before the unchanged altar of which he was baptized."

Mr. Sumner states in his letter that in subsequent visits to Holland he made other researches, both at Leyden and Delft Haven, gleaned additional facts. "I have in my possession," he says, "a letter by John Robinson to the magistrates of Leyden, dated Amsterdam, 12th February, 1609, asking permission to come during the ensuing month of May with his congregation of one hundred English men and women." This letter gives us light upon two points hitherto unsettled. First, the time of Robinson's migration to Leyden (supposed by some writers to have been 1608), and secondly, the number of those who were united with him in exile. "We cannot," he writes, "fix limits to our debt of gratitude to the Dutch Republic for the asylum and protection she afforded. Yet nothing so far discovered changes the conviction that the position of the Pilgrims while in Holland was one of suffering and privation, of continued persecution on the part of the English government, unalleviated by any sympathy from the more favored English who, in Amsterdam and Leyden, had received churches from the magistrates. When we look back upon the lowly position of the fathers of our republic, persecuted for opinion's sake, arrested in England,

imperfectly protected abroad, spurned by their more favored fellow-countrymen, are we not taught lessons of charity towards those who differ from us? Are we not also taught that we dishonor the Pilgrims when we forget to honor either *labor* or *devotion to principle*?"

In the year 1859 the corner-stone of the monument to the Pilgrim Fathers was laid. The following extract is from Mr. Sumner's address at that time:—

"Twice," he says, "since the account of my first visit to Holland was published, have I made pilgrimages to the temporary home of the Pilgrims, each time gleaning some little information which I believe will be interesting to their sons,— facts which throw some additional light upon that truly good man, the early pastor of the Pilgrims, John Robinson."

Mr. Sumner then read some extracts made by himself from the ancient records relating to Robinson's family, consisting of his wife and six children. Secondly, he held in his hand a copy of the deed of the house purchased at Leyden by Robinson. This deed he found recorded in the registry of the Leyden Staat House. "The land upon which the house stood was bounded on the south by the cloister of the Falyde Bagyn Church. This church is still standing, and now contains the library of the university. Any future American traveller visiting that library may, by looking from the window of the second left-hand alcove, see at the same time the garden in which John Robinson walked, and the Peter's Church, under the pavement of which he was buried.

"I know not, Mr. President," continues Mr. Sumner, "what impression might be made upon others, but I confess that, after having by these early records identified the home of Robinson, and entered the garden now overrun with weeds in which that pious, devoted Christian teacher, so heroic and so humble, so learned and so self-forgetful, walked with Brewster and with Bradford, I felt a reverential thrill greater than that when within the walls of Wittenberg, and almost as great as when entering the gates of Jerusalem!"

He speaks of "the hardships borne by that little body of Pilgrims flying from persecution, yet destined to become the founders of a mighty nation, who, with whatever privations they suffered, enjoyed in Holland the inestimable privilege of uttering their opinions, and following unmolested the dictates of their consciences. Here they found," he continues, "universities famed for the unsurpassed advantages they offered, and common schools which carried education home to the humblest. And with these blessings, and in harmony

with them, they found a population whose generous self-sacrifice, and whose love of knowledge, must have appealed to all that was noblest in the Pilgrim character."

Having dwelt upon the influences which surrounded the Pilgrims in Holland, and the institutions which they saw there, the memory of which they brought with them, and the shaping power of which is perceptible in privileges which we now enjoy, he closes with this sentiment: "Freedom of speech and freedom of action, the liberty to use our heads and our hands, for which the Pilgrim Fathers of New England suffered, the Revolutionary Fathers of New England bled. May a grateful posterity ever guard the precious heritage!"

It was in visiting Plymouth, while yet a lad, that George Sumner first formed the purpose of visiting Holland, and of searching through the ancient records of Amsterdam and Leyden and Delft Haven, to ascertain all that could be known respecting the Pilgrims while there. In order to accomplish this the more effectually, he studied the Dutch language. He went to those places and resided there. He gained special privileges from those having authority. He left nothing undone which would enable him to arrive at the desired result. The fruit of those researches formed a valuable contribution, which may be found in the printed Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. That subject never lost its interest to him, and we have just quoted the last words he ever publicly uttered respecting the Pilgrims.

This year, 1859, he delivered the oration before the municipal authorities of Boston, July 4th, that being the eighty-third anniversary of the Declaration of American Independence. Various facts were presented, not generally known, gathered by Mr. Sumner from the archives of Spain and France, showing the important sympathy and aid extended by these countries to us in our Revolutionary struggle. He then dwelt upon the prospects at that time of Italy and Hungary, paying a tribute to Kossuth, who, in his own land, he said, had shown himself to be "a great practical and conservative statesman." He defined the character and condition of Austria, and the attitude of the several European countries at that moment, with possible results which might follow, adding, "Whatever contest may ensue, our sympathies should be with those who strive for their natural rights, with those who strive to imitate us in what we have done of good. To them we owe all the aid we can give without directly plunging into the contest. Let us do for the Old World what the Old World did

for us in our struggle for independence. Let us, in favor of the right, interpose a neutrality armed, not with cannon, but with the printing-press and the electric light of truth. A mighty public opinion that shall keep rulers in the path of duty, of justice, and of humanity."

Then, bringing the truth yet nearer home, he added, "But our responsibilities do not stop here. We owe it to those who look to us for a model, we owe it to ourselves, to give them an example of good government, — a government which at all times, and in all places, is true to the memories and to the principles of the day we celebrate. On this day it behooves us to remember that an injury done to the humblest among us, whatever his color, whatever the country of his birth, is an injury done to us all."

In December of this year, a special meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society was held to pay a tribute to the memory of their recently departed Honorary Member, Washington Irving. Mr. Sumner was invited to take part on this occasion. An imperative engagement obliging him to be absent, a letter from him was read at the meeting by his friend, Henry W. Longfellow. "Others," wrote Mr. Sumner, "will do justice to Mr. Irving's literary fame. I would fain speak of his genial and constant friendship, of his faith in man, of his readiness to find good in every thing." Referring to his diplomatic career as Minister to Spain, — "Mr. Irving," he writes, "was in Spain at a moment of great political excitement. Important questions arose, all of which Mr. Irving treated with promptness and success. In his correspondence, often upon critical matters, Mr. Irving, in all his relations with the Spanish government, showed the suavity so congenial to his nature, and so presumptive of latent force. He carried all his points, and gave a lesson of conduct to other diplomatists. In his career as Minister, as in his social life, there was a constant recognition of the rights of others, and, as a natural result of this, a constant respect on the part of others for his own rights."

"In the largest sense of the word Mr. Irving was a national man, keenly alive to the honor and good name of the republic. His civic life was as honorable and as true to the principles of the founders of the republic as was his public career as Minister. To those who had the privilege of his intimacy, his character seemed in every respect complete."

Mr. Sumner was giving at this time between one and two hundred lectures during the season. Writing to Charles, he says: "I passed last evening with Prescott, who seemed

pretty well. I have just dined with Longfellow, who wishes himself with you. I leave to-morrow for Eastern Pennsylvania, where I have engaged to lecture; thence to Rochester, Cleveland, Chicago, and after that to different places in Illinois."

Such is a picture of his busy career. It was during these lectures in Illinois that he first met Abraham Lincoln, a man of tall and awkward figure, yet commanding presence.

This man Mr. Sumner found among his hearers, and ever after counted him as a friend, little thinking then that he was not only to be the President of the United States, but to carry his country through a momentous period of its history, and leave a name to shine with unclouded lustre for ever.

The 17th of February, 1860, Mr. Sumner writes: "At Jacksonville I met Abe Lincoln, who came over from Springfield to hear me. He seemed much pleased. The people here wish me to lecture again." Mr. Sumner went back to Springfield in company with Mr. Lincoln, and they seem to have been mutually drawn to each other. What a different experience had been theirs! Yet each had been a keen observer, with peculiar gifts and natural genius; each had mingled much with men, and made them a study; and each had an unfailling fund of quaint illustration and original anecdote.

From that time Mr. Sumner held Lincoln in the highest regard. He encouraged his nomination, and warmly advocated his election to the Presidency.

The month of March saw Abraham Lincoln, the lawfully elected President, solemnly inaugurated as the chief magistrate of the Union. "You can have no conflict," said Lincoln, "without being yourselves the aggressors." Then the cannon was levelled directly at the flag of the Union. April saw the bombardment of Fort Sumter; and that first shot fired at the flag of the nation, intended to shatter the republic into fragments, roused the whole people. The excitement, the determination, were beyond description. Seventy-five thousand men were at once called for, and before the end of the year five hundred thousand men were in the field.

Mr. Sumner was not idle. On May 2d he writes: "I have been in constant communication with General Wool, with the Quartermaster of the United States Army, and with the Union Defence Committee, and have written to the governors of Ohio and Illinois."

Mr. Sumner was in frequent consultation with Governor Andrew. The Governor had not doubted from the first that the South meant war. He had frequently had occasion to

converse with many of their leading public men, and he saw clearly through their purposes. He was not taken by surprise. The active militia of Massachusetts had been placed on a war footing, and ordered to be ready to march at an hour's notice. A telegram was received from Washington, April 15th, and without one moment of delay entire regiments were marching to the defence of the capital. Some of the Massachusetts soldiers, not yet ordered to march, were in camp at Readville. Mr. Sumner was there making arrangements for their efficiency and comfort, when, in the haste of his movements, he was struck by a car upon the leg. At the instant no serious effect was anticipated; but soon there were indications of paralysis, first preventing the power of motion in the lower limbs, then affecting the spine, and gradually extending itself over the whole body.

This was the blow that ended his career. He was working at the camp in the cause of his country, and he fell a martyr to his efforts as much as if he had fallen in the midst of battle. One is struck by a cannon-ball, another sinks by the wayside; one falls at the head of his regiment as he attacks the foe, another in some humble duty, it may be, unobserved and uncared for. But lay the flag of the country over both, and let them alike be remembered with gratitude.

The hospital record says he had been worn out by severe labor while lecturing at the West. By his perpetual activity, he had overtaxed both brain and body. One acquainted with his constant efforts during the campaign exclaimed, "It was enough to kill any one!" Mr. Sumner simply answered, "However, Lincoln was elected." One physician stated that "he had done work enough to wear out six bodies." His incessant labors, mental and physical, had without doubt been a heavy tax upon his system. With him there was not only activity, there was an intensity of feeling, none the less wearing because kept under an abiding self-restraint. He had naturally great physical strength; but internal enthusiasm, like a hidden fire, undermined and consumed it, and his exhausted constitution caused this incidental blow to be followed by paralysis. For two years he lingered, passing through a tedious period of protracted torture. Very gradually the paralysis extended itself. His limbs were affected, but not his head. Up to the last moment his mind was in full vigor. All his faculties were unimpaired. His memory was as strong, his knowledge as unlimited, his intellect worked as easily, and all his mental powers were as fully at command, as in his best days. Even his cheerfulness continued, and at



times a playful humor, with the same command of language, strong and lucid, and often singularly felicitous. It seemed as if all his vitality went to his brain. It was an impressive fact to see one who had been so active, stricken down in mid career, and yet so patient and uncomplaining. To the eyes of others, every dream of his life was extinguished. The usefulness for which he had so laboriously fitted himself was rapidly approaching an unlooked-for end. The first feeling was of profound melancholy. But as you saw him, and listened to him, you realized the triumph of mind over matter,—the power of “the unconquerable will,” which can exclaim with Milton, in the midst of the most trying disappointments, —

“I argue not  
Against Heaven’s hand or will, nor bate a jot  
Of heart or hope ; but still bear up and steer  
Right onward!”

He seemed like a vessel, not wrecked and shattered on the rocks, but under full sail, just turning the cape, to enter, with its rich freight, into other harbors.

When he could no longer walk, he could still hold the pen. In a note to his friend Greene, in a tremulous hand, he says : “I am too weak to write much. Had my leg been shot off in battle, instead of being wounded while improving camps, there would have been less suffering but more glory. Perhaps, however, my work was more useful, and that is my consolation.”

Gradually losing the power of motion, he never lost his intense desire for his country’s progress and success. Every movement of our armies was watched. No man more eagerly panted for intelligence. Every defeat filled him with grief, every victory with exultation. In November of 1861, six months after he was first disabled, Mason and Slidell, going out as rebel commissioners, it will be remembered, were seized by Commodore Wilkes from the “Trent,” a British passenger steamer, and brought as prisoners to the United States. Mr. Sumner wrote a letter on “the right of search,” which was printed and widely circulated, and considered of sufficient importance to be answered by an editorial in the “London Times.” Prostrated in body, but still anxious to hear the latest word, he writes with quivering hand to his brother Charles at Washington: “What do you see ahead?” and then exclaims, “Make no concessions to anarchy or treason, and all will come out right.” Eager for more immediate results, he writes: “This delay in the blockade is deplora-



ble." And again, wearied with apparent inaction, he writes: "This delay disheartens many. The people want to see vigor, and still again vigor."

Mr. Sumner was ill from May, 1861, to October, 1863, twenty-nine months; at first in his own home, and at last in the Massachusetts General Hospital, where his case could have the best medical attention, and he could be sure of that special care adapted to his condition. There were many friends who extended every attention, and who were unceasing in their ministrations of affection. They all bear testimony to his courageous fortitude, his uncomplaining patience, his cheerful trust, his unselfish consideration. But perhaps his most marked trait, manifest through all his illness as it had been through all his life, and blended in with his thoughtfulness of others, was his inextinguishable love for his country. Like the going down of the "Cumberland," whose heroic crew stood to their guns while the vessel was absolutely sinking beneath the water, and who never struck her flag, which was still floating at the masthead when the good ship had gone to the bottom, so George Sumner was true to the last. No hardship, no suffering, could diminish his devotion to liberty and the land of his birth.

Judging by a human standard, too soon, indeed, was he stricken. But there are divine purposes beyond our knowledge. He lived long enough to have accomplished much for the advantage of others. He lived long enough to have endeared himself to many hearts, and to leave behind him a memory not easily forgotten. He lived long enough to see the cause of civilization and good government secure in the stability of the Union. The war was not ended, yet the result was certain, and he knew it. Only five days before his death there was read to him the proclamation by his friend Governor Andrew for a day of public thanksgiving, calling upon the people to rejoice in that wonderful Providence that was working out the destiny of the nation, and in that loyal patriotism which was ready to make every sacrifice for the vindication of the right and the overthrow of wrong.

Thus did Mr. Sumner on his sick-bed, as so many others in their peaceful homes and on distant battle-fields, give eager response. His heart kindled with gratitude to God as he listened to the daily recital of splendid and decisive successes, — the dislodgment of the enemy from Lookout Mountain and Chattanooga Valley. He heard with joy unspeakable of the overwhelming triumphs at Vicksburg and at Gettysburg, — and yet more, he had read the great proclamation of Freedom.

Then, like Moses on Mount Pisgah, a sublime vision of the promised land opened before him, even unto the uttermost sea. What though his feet might not walk therein, he could die content. He was ready to say, "Now let thy servant depart in peace!"

The writer of this memoir was with Mr. Sumner at the hospital the evening before his death. His friend, Henry W. Longfellow, had been there. His brother Charles and G. W. Greene were now by his side. We all knew that he was near his end. This was probably to be his last day on earth. His physical feebleness was extreme, yet his mind was clear and bright as in his most vigorous days. Charles sat by his bedside, and George wished to hear from him the latest news, — the last word from the city of Washington and from the army, and the prospect opening before the country.

If years of active life were to have been his portion he could not have been more interested. Before the same hour on the following day his eyes were to be sealed in death. It seemed almost as if, conscious that his hour was approaching, he desired to take the most recent word with him to heaven. He died very quietly, on Tuesday, Oct. 6, 1863, at five o'clock P. M.

At the death-bed of George Sumner stood his brother Charles and G. W. Greene. Perhaps no one now living had known Mr. Sumner so long and so thoroughly as Mr. Greene. As far back as 1840, Charles had written to Mr. Greene, who was then United States Consul at Rome, stating that his brother George had been travelling in the East. Having recently been through Egypt, Nubia, Palestine, he was to visit Greece, Sicily, Malta, on his way to Rome, where, he continues, "I have promised him a friendly welcome from you." He then adds: "I cannot forbear saying that I think him one of the most remarkable persons of his age I have ever known." So strong an announcement might have awakened anticipations too great to be realized. However, in this instance, there seems to have been no disappointment; and from the time of the first meeting they were cordial friends. With many kindred tastes in their studies and researches, in their love of nature and history, society and art, they could mutually aid and inspire each other. In 1850 Mr. Greene, in publishing a volume entitled "Historical Studies," prefaced it with the following dedication: "To George Sumner: a tribute to talent nobly employed, — to friendship long tried and never found wanting."

We have requested Mr. Greene, as Mr. Sumner's long-tried

friend, to furnish us with any reminiscences, and we are most happy here to insert the following interesting and valuable paper:—

*Reminiscences by G. W. Greene.*

You have asked me for reminiscences of George Sumner. Perhaps I have promised too hastily, for when I try to collect my thoughts, and bring him back as I knew him in the most important years of his life, I find it very difficult to give the characteristic form and color to the image that rises before me.

I see a man of middle height, with a quick, elastic step, with an eye that looked penetratingly into yours, and a voice that lingered pleasantly on the ear long after the lips had ceased to move. I remember that I never was with him long without feeling as if a subtle magnetism were passing from him to me, and that I grew stronger as I yielded to its mysterious influence. But although I have often tried to analyze my feelings while under this influence, I have never been able to discover the secret of his power, or tell in what he differed so much from other men, even when he seemed most in sympathy with them. To say that he was an original thinker and observer is not saying all that I would wish to say. I have known many equally original and equally observant men, but none in whom thought and observation were so happily combined. I shall come nearer, perhaps, to the secret of his life, if, instead of confining myself to a bare analysis, I interweave my narrative with a few characteristic anecdotes.

I first knew George Sumner in Rome, where I held the office of United States Consul. He was introduced through his brother Charles, and I was prepared to meet, from what I had heard, a very remarkable man. My expectations were more than realized. He came to my house the morning after his arrival in Rome, and in the course of the first half hour I found myself undergoing a cross-examination upon the papal government and the administrative capacity of the priests. I was soon beyond my depth, and glad to make an inglorious retreat to my book-shelves. As he was preparing to leave, I asked him to come back at the Roman dinner-hour and take a Roman dinner with me. He was punctual to the hour, and soon brought up the subject of our morning's conversation. He had been looking into some books which I had lent him, and laying the foundations for careful studies from the life; and all the time he was speaking he was shivering from an ague fit, of which he only said, "I brought it with me from the East, and am gradually shaking it off, as you see. Let me keep my cloak on, and to-day's chill will soon be over." Before the week was out he had made himself at home in the streets and squares of the old city, and to be familiar with the streets and squares of Rome is to be familiar with the choicest thoughts of Michael Angelo and Raphael and their glorious brotherhood. I soon began to suspect that he enjoyed architecture more than her sister arts. But it was no disparaging preference, refusing to see that the Michael Angelo of the Moses was still the

Michael Angelo of the Sistine Chapel and the Dome of St. Peter's. His tastes were all catholic, and he prided himself upon the breadth of his power of enjoyment.

His love of detail, also, soon made itself felt in his conversation, which, though amply illustrated, was never overlaid with facts. Among the books which he read in his early Italian study were Gioja's "*Filosofia della Statistica*," and "*Prospetto delle Scienze Economiche*." Indeed, there were many points of sympathy between the two men. They both loved truth for the truth's sake, and never shrank from the questions she asked, or the labors she imposed. But Gioja often wrote with fetters on his thoughts, and sometimes by the dim light of a dungeon. The kingdom of Italy was as yet the vision and the hope of a chosen few, who believed in man. But Gioja did not live to see that better day.

Sumner had not been long in Rome when he formed the plan of a work upon Russia, a country which he had seen under peculiar advantages; and nowhere has history presented problems which he was more anxious to discuss. He had made extensive notes, and even sketched chapters, but it was not a book to write in a post-chaise; and, though he never altogether lost sight of it, it gave way to other things, and became at last rather a wish than an expectation.

The autumn *villeggiatura* came while he was still in Rome, and he passed part of it with me on the Alban Mount. Never did I see him more perfectly at his ease than on Fair Day, putting all his languages, Russian and Arabic among them, into requisition to ask the price of a Roman plough, or to demonstrate to an old Alban peasant the superiority of the American axe. Crawford, who was of our party, and who cared a great deal about modelling tools, and not the least in the world about axes and saws, almost grew angry as he said, "Don't you see that these clowns are laughing at us?"

He passed some three months in Rome, and then set his face northward, carrying with him many new ideas, classified and arranged, many new observations on men and manners, corrected and confirmed, and the foundations of a pure taste in art securely laid. He had worked hard, and was now to reap the fruits of his labors. Sicily and Naples he had taken on his way to Rome; Florence and Venice were continuations of the Eternal City, awakening in a measure the same kind of curiosity, and affording the same kind of enjoyment. It was another step in the broad culture at which he aimed.

I would not venture to call him an Italian scholar. He did not know the language well enough to enjoy the great prose writers of the sixteenth century, without whom there can be no thorough perception of the abundance, harmony, perspicuity, and vigor of the Italian language. Passages from Dante had imprinted themselves on his memory, and gave him great pleasure, but he had never studied Dante as a whole.

When he had seen every thing in Rome that he wanted to see, he asked to be presented to the Pope. I went with him to the Vatican, where he was received with great benignity without the bending of the

knee or the kiss of the cross on the slipper which belong to the Catholic ceremonial, and, after a few questions and answers, his Holiness dismissed us with a graceful wave of the hand, and a "God speed you, Sir Traveller."

I shall not attempt to follow him, step by step, through Austria and Germany. Neither Holland nor Belgium detained him long, but at Leyden he turned reverently aside to trace the footprints of the Pilgrim Fathers. France was now full in view, but before he pitched his tent there he made an excursion into Spain. He found the stormy peninsula tossing to and fro in a new revolution, whose phases he followed with deep and intelligent interest. During that visit he formed the acquaintance of Washington Irving, who was then our Minister at Madrid. Acquaintance soon ripened into friendship. "Here comes the man who knows every thing," he once said to me as Sumner entered the room. On their return home, Sumner was more than once a welcome and honored guest at Sunnyside.

Sumner came to Paris with great advantages, for he knew what he wanted and where to go for it. He came with a mind well stored by reading and meditation, with powers of observation quickened and strengthened by the study of men and nature on the broadest scale, with manners unassuming yet self-possessed, and a power of spontaneous adaptation which made him equally acceptable in every circle. His manners, indeed, were a study from their simplicity and ease, and few equalled him in the art of gathering up the scattered threads of conversation and giving them the direction that he wished. Few could be more reticent than he without giving offence; and the most accomplished diplomatist would have failed to draw a secret from him.

Perfect self-possession, and perfect control over all his faculties and all his acquisitions, were among the distinguishing traits of his well-poised character.

I was dining with him one day at an eminent publicist's, where you could safely count upon good conversation. Sumner was seated at the right of our host, and during the first part of the meal contented himself with throwing in from time to time a few words very much to the purpose. When we rose from the table he was talking,—all the others were listening.

And while I am speaking of his intercourse with other men, let me illustrate it by a statement. An American, who had brought him a letter of introduction, was anxious to see the Chamber of Deputies in session. "But I am told that it is impossible," he said to Sumner. "There is nothing easier," was the reply. "Meet me to-morrow at the Palais Bourbon at one o'clock, and you shall see and hear, too, if you wish." Both were punctual to the appointment, and, after sitting awhile in the gallery, Sumner asked his companion if there was any particular deputy to whom he should like to be introduced. "M. de Tocqueville," was the reply. Sumner called an usher, and sent in his card. In a few moments came M. de Tocqueville, with the card in his hand and a gracious smile on his lips. "Welcome, my friend. What can I do for you?"

The story was soon told, and the traveller left the chamber thoroughly convinced that there were things which George Sumner could do, if others could not.

I shall not attempt a full picture of his life in Paris. It was the systematic life of a man who has a definite purpose before him, and feels that every day rightly employed brings him nearer to the goal. Believing that the living literature of a country is an important element in the study of its morals and manners, he systematically gave a portion of his time to this class of reading, feeling that he could there find exponents of the problems by which he was surrounded, and which found their running commentary in the evening saloon. As soon as he was dressed he went to the coffee-house for his coffee and roll, and their inseparable companion, the newspaper. Calls, which he looked upon as a social duty, came next. Six, his dinner hour, found him at a restaurant, or, still oftener, at the house of a friend. The evening was given to society, and he read and wrote till late into the night.

He was fonder of society than of the theatre, though he enjoyed both the opera and the drama. I never saw him at the card-table or at the billiard-table, — not that he did not accept them both as means of social enjoyment, but because they did not give him the kind of intellectual refreshment which his temperament required.

He came under the influence of French society at the right moment, for his intellectual curiosity was boundless, and conversation was his delight. A tenacious memory gave him firm possession of all that he had ever learned from books or men, and I never saw him at fault for an illustrative fact or a disputed date. It was the last year of Louis Philippe, whose citizen throne seemed firmly established. Many wise men believed in it. French politics were the politics of all Europe. All questions of social science entered into them, and the most difficult problems of the present sprang from them. This, then, was the true field for his talents to act and to grow in. He would study here, and carry the result with him home; for, above all things, he was an American. And these vital questions of social science which he was studying so zealously, he was studying for his country, looking hopefully forward to the day when he should turn his face homeward and lay the fruits of his labor reverently at his country's feet.

But here was the great mistake of his life. Two Americas lay in his path, the America of his memory and the America of his hope, and it is seldom that the memory or the hope proves fully true. While he was sedulously preparing himself for the field of his future labors, that field was no longer the same. Men and things were changed; new interests were awakening and inciting to new enterprises; new names met his eye in the columns of the newspaper; new candidates for civic honors presided at public meetings, and pulled the party wires at caucuses. He came home, and found himself alone.

I will not carry my study further, for nothing is more painful to dwell upon than the disappointments of a generous mind. At last disease came in a mysterious form, and we saw him sink before us day



by day, and no one could tell why. You remember the evening before his death, how calm and serene and self-possessed his spirit was; and when we laid him in the grave, to which mother and sister and brother were so soon to follow him, we felt that another great promise had passed away unredeemed, and another void opened in longing hearts which never could be filled.

I have told you that Charles Sumner had prepared me to meet an extraordinary person in his brother George. But he did not tell me how like to himself he was in some things and how unlike in others. The dissimilarity began with their persons. Charles was over six feet high, George less than five feet ten. In both the limbs harmonized in just proportions; but George would have been passed over in a crowd, while Charles would have drawn every eye to his massive frame and lofty bearing. Both moved with an elastic step, until disease prostrated the one and suffering the other. In vigor and energy there was very little difference between them. They both brought all their powers to their task, and whatever they did, did it with a will. Few men felt the responsibility of time and opportunity more than they, or sought their rule of life in duty more persistently. Their natural endowments were of a very high order, though George excelled Charles in the quickness of his perceptions. Both had strong memories, and held their acquisitions with a tenacious grasp. Their imaginations were rather the imaginations of the orator and historian than of the poet. Each had the manners and address of the best society, but there was a commanding dignity in Charles which George could never reach. Instead of this, he had a calm, manly tone, and a power of gentle insinuation which was full of charm. Each had a winning smile, which outlived disease and hard wrestling with the world, and lingered around the lips when life was gone.

No term could be applied to both with more propriety than that of men of highly cultivated minds. But in this, also, their resemblances and differences were strongly marked and numerous. Charles laid the foundations of his scholarship in the Boston Latin School; and, passing from thence to the scholarly influences of Harvard, made himself friends in Greece and Rome, and drank at the "pure wells of English undefiled." George stopped on the threshold of his classical studies, and, as yet almost a boy, plunged into the vortex of active life. While Charles was studying men in books, George was studying them by daily intercourse, both to the same end, — that they might be useful to their fellow-men. It was natural, therefore, that one should be a close and independent observer of men and things, while the other saw them through the medium of other minds. Charles was the most assiduous reader I ever knew, and George the closest observer. An honorable ambition entered into the motives of both. Both met on the common ground of duty and principle. Quick in their sympathies, they keenly enjoyed the recognition of their companions in labor.

On all the great questions of the day they felt and thought alike. They were too much in earnest to talk for victory. The conversation of both was distinguished by variety and elegance; by exactness of



thought and richness of illustration. Firmness of purpose, elevation of aim, reverence for the good and holy, moral courage of the highest order, firm faith in the dignity of human nature, belonged to both alike; and to both alike belonged a definite purpose, which could neither be mistaken nor misunderstood, and for want of which many men, otherwise great, have lived and struggled in vain. Charles lived to accomplish his purpose. Come what may, his place in history is secure. George fell by the way with longings which were never satisfied.

After this just and discriminating statement, — graphic and individual, a true life-portrait drawn with an impartial fidelity, yet warm with affection, — few words in addition are needed.

At the early age of forty-six, Mr. Sumner passed away. The brief period allotted to him was crowded with activity, and devoted to worthy ends. Thrown absolutely upon his own resources, he fought his way through difficulties, and made for himself a position in every country he visited. Returning to his own land with unusual acquirements, he consecrated them all to his country's service.

Still it may be asked, Was his life a success? If the acquisition of wealth or the holding of high office be the test of success, these certainly could not be claimed for him. If, however, to have led a life of industry, integrity, and honor; to have made the fullest use of every faculty and opportunity; to have won the confidence of men of genius, and the co-operation of the wisest and ablest minds; to have possessed the affection of as pure and true hearts as ever beat; to have been beloved, not only by his kindred, but by a wide circle both of young and old, through widely severed countries; and when struck down suddenly by disease, to have borne it with courage and fortitude, and at last to have met the end with a cheerful and confiding trust, — if this be success, then such success was his.

## MEMOIR

OF

REV. EDMUND HAMILTON SEARS, D.D.

BY CHANDLER ROBBINS.

EDMUND HAMILTON SEARS was born in Sandisfield, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, the sixth day of April, 1810. He was a descendant from the Pilgrim, Richard Sears, who came over with the last company of the Leyden exiles, and landed at Plymouth, May 8, 1630.\*

His father was a farmer in moderate circumstances, but intelligent, independent, public-spirited, of sound judgment and sturdy integrity. Though without the advantage of early education, he was fond of reading good books and had an almost passionate admiration for poetry. He was virtually the founder of the Sandisfield town library, and was honored by his fellow-citizens with various important trusts. The following notices of his character and of some of the incidents of the early life of his son are found among the papers of the latter. It is to be regretted that these autobiographical memoranda are so few: —

“My memory reaches back very distinctly to the time when I was five years old, and I have some dreamy impressions of something anterior to that date. My father was then in very moderate, even straitened, circumstances. My mother was industrious and frugal, but she appreciated well the advantages of education, and always kept us at school.

“My father was a man of sound judgment and very strong feeling. Though his early education was scanty, he became a man of considerable information, and had some taste for books. He had a natural love for poetry, and I have no doubt that was one of the circumstances which went to determine my tastes and pursuits. My earliest recollections are associated with his reading, or rather chanting of poetry, —

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\* The patronymic was variously spelled: Sarre, Sarres, Syer, Sayer, Seears, Seers, Sears. The last mode of spelling was adopted by the children of Richard.

for he never read without a sort of sing-song tone. He was a great admirer of Pope's *Iliad*, and would read it by the hour. Sometimes when busily engaged he would break out in a chant of several lines from that poem; and the lines, —

“ ‘Achilles’ wrath, to Greece the direful spring,’ &c.,

became familiar to me before I knew aught else of the Grecian hero. And the lines, —

“ ‘Haate, on thy life, and fly these hostile plains,  
Nor ask presumptuous what the king detains,’

became nursery rhymes, and I was afterward surprised to find them in Homer. He was also a great admirer of Watts's *Lyrics*, and some of them he was for ever repeating. Almost the first emotion of the sublime that was ever awakened in me was by hearing him read with great gusto one of Watts's *Psalms*, declaring it equal to Homer. It is the nineteenth. The original ought to inspire any translator who had but a single spark of genius. I recollect a few lines to this day, which would not out of my memory. Homer's description of Jupiter giving the nod is indeed tame in comparison, or the descent of the gods, and their taking part in the engagement, in the twelfth book of the *Iliad*. The following are passages of the psalm: —

“ ‘To earth he came, the heavens before him bowed,  
Beneath his feet deep midnight stretched her shroud:  
Cherubic hosts his sun-bright chariot form,  
His wings the whirlwind, and his voice the storm.  
Around his car thick clouds their curtains spread,  
And wrapped the conclave in a boundless shade.

“ ‘Before His path o'erwhelming splendors came,  
The clouds dissolved, all nature felt the flame,  
From his dread throne a voice in thunder broke,  
The wide world trembled when the Eternal spoke.’

“About this time my father brought home from the library Pope's *Works*, in two volumes, and I was completely bewitched by the harmony of the numbers. I was just old enough to be charmed with sound without sense, and the ‘*Pastorals*’ I thought equal to the music of the spheres.

“ ‘*Sappho to Phaon*’ and ‘*Eloise to Abélard*’ I thought incomparable, and would almost have given my life to have written the ‘*Messiah*’ or ‘*Windsor Forest*.’ Afterward I began to read Pope's *Homer* myself, and became so familiar with its contents that I could repeat whole books from beginning to end.

“This rhyming propensity, early waked up within me by Pope, proved a benefit to me of a kind which I was then little aware of. It did not, as I then thought it would, make me immortal, but it gave me a command of the English language such as I could not have gained by being drilled, during these romantic years of boyhood, through all the Latin class-books in existence.

"In puzzling my head to find a word that rhymed, I was taking the best course to enlarge my vocabulary and acquire a graceful and nervous style. My ear became unusually quick to the harmonies of language, and I do not think I could have had a more profitable exercise in the best classical school in New England. I was mastering the English tongue, and making it flexible as a medium of thought, without any disgusting associations of crabbed lessons and pedagogues.

"The most profitable works furnished me by the public library — books of history, biography, and travels — were read by me with increasing interest and excited many high resolves and bright anticipations. Such books as Waldo's *Lives of Perry and Decatur*, and the *Life of Putnam*, caused many a throb of patriotism and made me quite proud of my country. But all along I had aspirations which my natural shyness would not suffer me to disclose. I actually fell to sermonizing when not more than twelve years old, and among others wrote a discourse in full from Luke xvi. 25, which I delivered to a full assembly of alder-bushes, but which no one else ever heard. My manuscripts were all carefully hidden away from the family for fear of ridicule, to which I was keenly alive. I copied Governor Brooks's message entire and delivered it to the Legislature of both Houses assembled in imaginary conclave. I had pleadings and counter-pleadings before imaginary judges, and, in fine, there was nothing in the department of law, theology, or of poetry over which my fancy did not rove for laurels.

"But all this time I was kept steadily at work on my father's farm. My father had become engrossed in public business; my elder brother had gone South; my other brother, a year and a half older than myself, was left with me exclusively to take charge of affairs at home."

It is seldom that the circumstances which shape the character of the future man are so distinctly seen as in the case of Mr. Sears. In addition to those which are brought to view in the foregoing reminiscence, not only the pure and simple habits of the guardians and companions of his childhood (which constituted the healthful moral atmosphere which he breathed) but also the grand and beautiful scenery of his native place had a not unimportant part. The mountains, among which Sandisfield lies embosomed, especially impressed his youthful imagination. He looked upon them at first with a feeling of veneration which was afterward mingled with love. He referred to them often in conversation with evident delight, and their images frequently reappear in his writings. They were evidently associated with his early religious feelings, and seem almost to have had a subtle connection with his youthful consecration to his Master's service. He fondly clung to their old Indian names, and regarded with indignation the proposal to substitute for them

those of distinguished men. His strong and abiding attachment to these Berkshire Hills found expression in the charming lines, written, in his old age, near the home of Wordsworth, in immediate view of the celebrated mountains of the Lake district:—

“ But not less lovely or sublime  
Are mountains that I used to climb;  
No skyey tint of softer hue  
Adorns Helvellyn's wall of blue,  
Nor does the day drop sweeter smiles  
On Grasmere or Winander's isles  
Than those beneath Taghanic's \* eye,  
Where Berkshire's vales and landscapes lie.”

His physical constitution was strengthened and his practical ability developed by an abundance of hard work. When he was about twelve years old, he and his brother, who was two or three years his senior, took almost entire charge of the farm in the winter time beside attending school.

His first essays at poetical composition were as early as his tenth year. It is told of him, that at about that period, while working in the field, he composed two verses of poetry, writing them with chalk upon his hat, and carried them to the house to exhibit. They were not remarkable, but the family refused to believe they were his own production unless he wrote another stanza on the spot to supplement them, which he did.

His father, with a wise discernment of his natural abilities and tastes, formed a purpose of giving him a more extended course of studies than could have been obtained at the common school. He sent him to the Westfield Academy, the nearest classical school to his own village. Having completed his preparatory studies at this institution, he entered the Sophomore class at Union College, Schenectady, then at the height of its prosperity, in 1831. With a natural thirst for knowledge, grateful to his family for having provided him, at some sacrifice, with the means of obtaining a liberal education, fully appreciating the advantages he enjoyed at the college, and habitually diligent and conscientious in the performance of duty, he devoted himself to his studies with an earnestness of purpose which secured for him the esteem of the Faculty and an honorable rank in his class. He excelled particularly in general scholarship, and as a writer he had no superior. He was a frequent contributor to a college period-

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\* Since named Everett.

ical called "The Parthenon," and was for a time one of its editors. His poems are more vigorous and graceful than are usually found in such literature, but are chiefly interesting from the choice of subjects. "Regarded from this point of view, some of them are not unworthy precursors of such later lyrics as 'Old John Brown' and the 'Song of the Stars and Stripes.'" One of them is occasioned by a pathetic incident in the Greek Revolution, and is an arraignment of the barbarities of the Turks. Another, called "The Battle of Lexington," is a stirring appeal to arms supposed to be given the night before the battle took place. Another, bearing the title of "The Murderer's Last Hour," would indicate that the author, like most men of ardent and generous natures, passed through a season in which he condemned the infliction of capital punishment. Another poem, written for a prize which was divided between him and another competitor, was on a Scriptural subject, "The Cities of the Plain." Such a choice of subjects gives some idea of the breadth and quickness of his moral sympathies, which made him, all his life, scorn injustice. And yet it is curious to notice that, in one of the literary reviews he furnished to the magazine, he laments that the question of slavery had led some of the most promising of our poets to abandon the purest forms of art in their protest against a great moral evil. His papers in prose are written with ease and manifest more discrimination and thought than are usually found in college magazines.\*

Mr. Sears often referred to the character and influence of Dr. Nott, the president of the college, and always with warm expressions of gratitude and respect. Dr. Nott taught the Senior class in Moral Philosophy, and met them more as if they were his own children or friends than ordinary pupils. There was no conventional or formal restraint to obstruct their intercourse. Dr. Nott talked with them in a pleasant, friendly way, often intermingling his conversation with shrewd advice. His parting injunction to them, as they went forth into the world, was to take with them their Bibles and their Shakespeares, as they would find in them the sum of all wisdom.

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\* I am indebted for this account of Mr. Sears's writings at college to a sketch, in manuscript, of his life, prepared for the use of his family, by his son Edmund Hamilton Sears (H. C. 1874), who, in intellectual and moral traits, closely resembles his father. I am also under obligation to him for permission to make a free use of his Reminiscences whenever it might suit my purpose. I have availed myself of this permission in several instances, especially and largely in the notice of Mr. Sears's life at Wayland and Weston.

After graduating from college, Mr. Sears began the study of law, and read for some months in a lawyer's office. But, although he did not undervalue these legal studies as a means of mental discipline, and although he had natural qualities which would have fitted him for a successful career as a lawyer, yet still stronger tastes and the influence of high spiritual aspirations soon turned his attention to another and more congenial profession. He entered the Divinity School at Cambridge in 1835, and having completed the usual course of theological studies in 1837, he began to preach as a missionary at Toledo, where he remained nearly a year. Soon after his return to the East, he received a call from the Unitarian Church at Wayland, Massachusetts, which, though very small in numbers, was, for that reason, the more inviting to him on account of his comparatively feeble health. The call was cordially accepted, and he was ordained as minister of that church in 1839.

After remaining at Wayland a little more than two years, he received and accepted an urgent call from the First Congregational Church in Lancaster, Massachusetts, and was installed Dec. 23, 1840, as successor of the Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Thayer, who had then recently died, after a long and honorable ministry. He found here a wider field of usefulness, an appreciative congregation, a pleasant and intelligent social circle, and many devoted friends. In one of the loveliest towns of Massachusetts, and with the bright prospect of a successful and happy ministry, he established his new home and entered upon his chosen work. But the pastoral care of so numerous a flock overtaxed his physical strength, and his lungs suffered from the strain made necessary in the pulpit of so large a church. His health at length failed, it was feared beyond recovery, and, to the great reluctance equally of the society and himself, he was compelled to resign his charge. With a heavy heart, attended by the unanimous sympathy and benedictions of his numerous friends in Lancaster, he left behind him the pleasant scenery which he admired, and the sacred labors to which he had consecrated his best energies and given his warmest affections, and turned his steps again to the humbler scene of his earlier ministry.

His scanty means were little more than sufficient for the purchase of a small farm. His health was so enfeebled that he was hardly able to walk and was obliged to spend a large part of the time on his couch. It was a sad thought to him that he might never again be able to resume the sacred duties which he loved. For a time the prospect before him was



dark and disheartening, and his faith and courage were put to the severest test. But gradually, by rest and the kindest and most judicious care and nursing, he recovered his strength and spirits; and, to the great gratification of his former parishioners, he entered once more upon the work of the ministry in Wayland.

He found here a small circle of cultivated people whose society he greatly enjoyed, and who fully appreciated his character and influence. These he served not only as a pastor, but as an educator and director of their literary tastes. Among other means which he devised for their improvement, a Reading Club was formed, of which he was the leading spirit, and his fine discrimination and ready appreciation of what was best in literature was of great service. The best books were selected for reading, while those which were ephemeral were scarcely touched. The quiet enjoyment to be drawn from literature and friendly conversation was deemed amply sufficient; none other was desired or thought of. In a more general way Mr. Sears tried to be of service to the community. He was a member of the Library Committee, and it was largely through his influence that the selection of books made was an unusually choice one, including an ample proportion of the standard works in history, biography, and science. He also served upon the School Committee, and, when the High School was given up, he secured through private subscriptions, in which he bore his part, the maintenance of a school where the higher grade of studies was taught.

His home was in a retired spot, about a mile from the centre of the village. His quiet life here, while congenial to his tastes, afforded him a favorable opportunity for study, meditation, and writing for the pulpit and the press, of which he gladly and faithfully availed himself. His sermons were prepared with great care, and he was always reluctant to repeat them even when urged by his parishioners to do so. Three of his earlier works, "Regeneration," "Foregleams of Immortality," and "Pictures of the Olden Time," were composed at this period. Many articles also, both of a graver and lighter character, were written for the "Monthly Religious Magazine," of which he was one of the editors.

His connection with the church at Wayland had been in all respects pleasant and profitable, and he was urged not to sever it, but he seemed to think that his work there was done. He had a conscientious feeling that he had given to the society all he had to give, and that it would be for its true

welfare that he should relinquish his office in favor of a successor who might awaken in the people a new interest, and do what he had left undone. He was not desirous to enter upon a new field of duty immediately, but he was not allowed to remain long in retirement.

He was soon invited to supply the pulpit of the First Parish, in the neighboring town of Weston, whose venerable pastor, Rev. Dr. Joseph Field, was beginning to suffer from infirmities incident to old age. At the end of a year, the congregation, having become more and more interested in his preaching, tendered to him a unanimous call to become their minister as colleague of Dr. Field. His installation took place in May, 1865. The society at Weston was small, though somewhat larger than that which he had left at Wayland. It was composed in a great measure of the lineal descendants from the good old families which had given a character of respectability to the town. Its members were pacific and united, generally intelligent and conservative, and not exacting toward their minister. The dimensions and construction of the meeting-house were such as to make it easy for the preacher to be heard in all parts without undue exertion.

His relations to the people were of a pleasant and friendly character. "His new house was an attractive one, not affording the retirement of the one he had left, as it was on the main street of the village, but he was not sorry to see a little more of the world. Those long years of seclusion at Wayland had had their charm, but now that his life was drawing to a close, he was glad of the opportunity of a little more human companionship. Living nearer to Boston, he went there more frequently to find literary and social enjoyment.

"His frugal manner of living, and the sums realized from his books, had made him more independent, so that his life through the coming years was less a struggle than it had been."

After fully satisfying all the demands made upon his time by his parishioners, there were still left to him many hours of leisure which he could devote to general reading and literary labors. He read works upon geology and astronomy, and in his drives and walks made the knowledge he gained from them of service in studying the structure of the earth about him, and in fixing the stars and constellations at evening. Much of his time was devoted to the production of what may be justly regarded the most important work of his life, "The Fourth Gospel, the Heart of Christ." It was a work slowly

matured, and had given the chief direction to his study for fifteen years. Before he left Wayland he learned to read fluently in German, in order that he might study thoroughly the most recent criticisms of the New Testament. He found a study of certain phases of Greek philosophy also necessary, as well as some investigations of the early Hindu and Persian religions. And upon the New Testament itself, particularly the writings of John, he bestowed a critical and searching examination, which resulted in giving new strength and clearness to convictions which he had always cherished. To the latest phases of scientific thought he also devoted much attention, and read with great care some of the best works upon evolution, the conservation of energy, and kindred subjects. The results of these scientific researches he has embodied in the chapter entitled "Transparencies of Nature," one of the most remarkable in the whole work.

He had studied the geography of Palestine, and the books of travels in that interesting country, so thoroughly and minutely that one who reads his descriptions of the scenery and holy places cannot easily believe that they were not written after actual personal observation.

Yet, absorbing as these studies were, they did not distract him from his regular and official duties. Besides writing many sermons, he made frequent contributions to the magazine of which he was an associate editor. When he was engaged in the historical studies necessary for the composition of "Pictures of the Olden Time," he wrote an article suggested by them on "William the Silent," which appeared in the "North American Review." So now, while busy with the works of the great German thinkers, he wrote two articles for the "Religious Magazine," upon German philosophy, tracing its development from Kant to the present day. It was these same studies, in part, which enabled him to write one of his ablest essays, which was ultimately published in the magazine, — the one on "Religious Naturalism," which he delivered, as an address, before the Alumni of the Divinity School at Cambridge.

In 1873, the quiet and regular flow of his life at Weston was interrupted by a most pleasing incident. A small party of friends who were about to visit Europe invited him to join their company. He had been told that he would meet with a most cordial greeting in England from those who had read his books, from some of whom he had received letters expressive of the pleasure and benefit they had received from his writings. The circulation of his works there had been

almost as wide as in America. He was quite familiar, too, with English history, and was glad of an opportunity to visit the spots of which he had read. The thoughts that came to him as he looked upon the beautiful landscape of the Lake Country he has himself embodied in one of his latest and best poems. From the scenes around him and the poet who lived among them, they turned, as we have already seen, to his own Berkshire Hills, and to the Creative Mind of which nature was to him ever the symbol and the veil.

His welcome in England was far warmer and wider than the assurances of his friends had prepared him to anticipate. The Unitarian clergymen tendered him a dinner and reception, passing exceedingly friendly and appreciative resolutions, while their speeches were equally cordial. After his return home, although still in feeble health, a little more than a year of quiet, pleasant labor remained to him before he met the accident which resulted ultimately in his death.

Mr. Sears was an impressive preacher. His manner in the pulpit was quiet, serious, and dignified. He spoke as one thoroughly in earnest; who "believed and therefore spake," like a prophet who felt that he had a message from God to deliver. He rarely used any gestures in the pulpit; only occasionally raising his arm and pointing upward, as if his thoughts were directed to the Great Object of reverence, and the Source of inspiration and wisdom. But both his face and form were animated by intense interest in his theme, and his whole person became expressive of his thought.

His sermons were eminently spiritual, invariably marked by originality and freshness, and enriched by the fruits of study, meditation, and deep religious experience. He loved to treat the highest themes of Christian speculation, and, like the apostle to the Gentiles, feeling that he was "set for the defence of the gospel," rejoiced to encounter its open assailants, and to expose and ward off the covert attacks of its secret foes. His aim was the instruction and edification of his hearers, not to excite transient emotion or to stimulate to sudden effort. The objection has been sometimes made to his preaching that it was too quiet and meditative, adapted rather to the comparatively small class of those who were already pursuing the Christian course, and not suited to the many who needed to be awakened and urged to exchange a worldly for a religious life. But it should be remembered, that while the ultimate end of all true preaching is the same, — to bring men into the filial relation to God through repentance and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, — yet the modes of

accomplishing this object are various, and the gifts of the true preacher different. The type of Christian character after which Mr. Sears endeavored to mould the characters of his people was that which he exemplified in his own life, and which he was especially gifted to produce. And who will say that, in laboring faithfully and earnestly and with a good measure of success for such a result, he did not render honor to the Divine Pattern of a child of God and do the work of a true evangelist?

Mr. Sears was a Unitarian, though his sympathies were confined to no sect and though in some important points he differed from the majority of that denomination. Some of his doctrinal views, particularly in regard to the person and nature of Christ, were more nearly in accord with those of the body of Christians called evangelical. They also show the influence of Swedenborg, whose works he had thoroughly studied and for whom as a theologian he had high esteem. But more than all they were his own, and, considering the sacred mystery of the subject, were expressed with great positiveness and even boldness. Indeed, they were so original and peculiar that it is doubtful if they would fit in to the system of any school of theologians or even meet with the entire assent of any individual Christian. In his admirable chapter, in his work "The Fourth Gospel, the Heart of Christ," entitled "Converging Lines," Mr. Sears expresses not only his devoted loyalty to the Lord Jesus Christ, but his love and sympathy for all his disciples of every name and age, and depicts that glorious consummation which he hoped for and confidently expected, and which was the object of his own labors and prayers.

"He always studied to render faithful service to the denomination where Providence had placed him, not by trying to conform to the average opinions of the denomination, but by trying to grasp and bring forth anew the vital truths essential alike to individual progress and denominational life. In the fulfilment of this high purpose he often found himself standing almost alone, and this isolation was deeply painful to him. Not that his courage ever faltered, for his life was marked by many an act of independence, and many times he threw his whole influence in opposition to his warmest friends; but few knew how much this independence cost him. He was acutely sensitive, shrinking from an unkind criticism, dreading publicity, self-depreciating, retiring, though not reserved in disposition. In his latest years, when he most longed for sympathy and fellowship, the deep convictions to which long years of patient study had brought him, and his position as one of the editors of the 'Monthly Religious Magazine,'

made him a leader in the contest between the extremes of the denomination with which he acted. His disposition was unswervingly just, and he always took the greatest pains not to misrepresent the views nor impugn the motives of any person; but he had a keen eye for the weak points of an argument and ready powers of debate and satire. How unreservedly he threw himself into the conflict, the pages of the magazine bear record. He did not escape the harsh criticism and misrepresentation that he expected, but these roused no bitterness in his spirit; he never for merely personal reasons replied to any attack. If at times his words seemed sharp and emphatic, they were the expression of earnest feeling and strong conviction, never of intolerance nor unkindness."\*

Mr. Sears's religious books, bearing indubitable marks of strong faith, sincere piety, deep thought, and rich experience, breathing a truly catholic and Christian spirit, and written in an attractive style, have met with a wide circulation, and carried instruction and comfort far beyond denominational limits. His "Pictures of the Olden Time," a work of a different class, shows the versatility of his powers, and suggests what he might have accomplished if he had turned his attention to other departments of literature than that to which his pen was consecrated. Although, as the author remarks in his preface, it is "neither romance nor pure history," it may not improperly be called an historical romance, founded on important events with which some of his remote ancestors were connected, and is designed to illustrate their characters. Its descriptions of the public scenes in which they were actors are graphic and historically accurate; its pictures of domestic life and of the manners of the period referred to are skilfully drawn; the portraits of individuals are spirited and lifelike, and the whole story interesting.

Mr. Sears had all the qualities of a true poet. Many of his lyrical pieces are admirable. His two Christmas hymns, one beginning with the line, —

"Calm on the listening ear of night,"

and the other with the words, —

"It came upon the midnight clear,  
That wondrous song of old,"

are universally regarded as among the finest in the English language. The former was written while he was a student

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\* From the preface to a volume of Mr. Sears's sermons entitled "Christ in the Life," selected and published after his death by his son, Francis B. Sears.



in the Divinity School at Cambridge, and was first published anonymously.

We have thus briefly sketched what would generally be called an uneventful life, marked by no striking circumstances, made interesting by no variety of incident, calm and even in its flow, and narrow in its local boundaries. But in view of the highest purposes of existence, when we regard the intrinsic excellence of its character, the purity, power, and wide circuit of its influence, and the amount and richness of its fruits, it may justly be classed with lives of the highest order. We have seen that, from the first, it was animated by an aspiring spirit, fired by a noble ambition, directed and governed by the highest principles, devoted to the attainment and dissemination of knowledge and wisdom and virtue, to the search and service of the truth; uninfluenced by the fear or favor of man, steadily growing in spiritual worth and power, ever reaching forth and pressing on and bearing others upward after him toward those things which are before and above.

Though diffident and somewhat reserved in general society, in his family and among his friends Mr. Sears was genial and agreeable. His conversation was always interesting. He had a rich vein of humor and playful moods without frivolity, which were all the more charming by reason of his usual gravity.

Although not generally demonstrative, no one could give a more hearty greeting to a friend. His face lighted up with welcome, and his whole manner was so warm and cordial that it was pleasant even to witness it. Yet he never was insincere, and no one could ever think that his demonstration meant more than was really felt. He could give his kindly impulses a freer play than most could do because he was at once so tender and so constant. And, at the same time, his character was so elevated and self-contained and he seemed to walk so serenely on his own heights of spiritual vision, that all who approached him felt that he was at a certain distance from them, though his manner was most cordial.

His character was strongly marked, independent and original. Few men have been less influenced and moulded by the habits and opinions of others. Without assuming an antagonistic attitude or giving offence by a show of cold indifference to the views and ways of those around him, he held firmly to his own. His opinions upon all subjects were positive and expressed with positiveness. The large propor-



tion which the stronger qualities bore to the other elements of his nature may not have been generally understood or appreciated. His amiable disposition and his modest and unassuming manners covered them as with a softening veil. But occasionally, as for instance when injustice and oppression were to be denounced, or selfishness to be rebuked, or some cherished opinion to be defended, or an attack upon things held sacred to be repelled, or when an attempt was made to entice him to assent to what he could not approve, or to be silent when he ought to condemn, this veil was rent asunder by the intensity of his feeling, and the latent force of his nature made apparent to all. Though never self-asserting, he was not wanting in self-respect; though bashful even to shyness, his bearing was always dignified and manly. While he never seemed to look down upon you, you generally found yourself looking up to him. Though he listened respectfully to the opinions of others, they waited with deference for the expression of his own.

In the autumn of 1874, he received a severe injury by a fall from a tree in his orchard, which caused a shock to his constitution from which he was never to recover. He was obliged to give up not only his public duties, but all intellectual labors, and to resign himself to the quiet of his couch and to the patient and submissive endurance of inactivity and bodily suffering. He was more serious and quiet than he had ever been, but very genial, and able to appreciate what was humorous. He lived in such stillness that he seemed more than ever open to impressions from the spiritual world, and almost to catch its voices. Not a great while before his death he wrote, in a journal in which from time to time he recorded peculiarly memorable experiences, an impressive dream that came to him. He dreamed, he said, that he appeared among the blest society of heaven, but was distressed by a sense of his own evil, until the Lord freed him from it, and fitted him for the company of the angels. "Glorious view!" he adds, "the sin, the error, the weakness all mine! The holiness and righteousness all from God."

At times his health seemed to be in a measure restored. Only two weeks before his death he appeared unusually well. He wrote a short sermon upon "Everlasting Life," and thought that by the time spring came round he would be able to resume his sacred labors, though with a more quiet and subdued activity. But this transient energy was but a final flicker of the lamp of life before its dying out. He became suddenly ill with pneumonia, and sank so fast that

before he realized his condition, and could bid farewell to his family and friends, he became too weak to speak. After a few days of severe bodily suffering, there came, on a Sabbath morning, Jan. 16, 1876, a short season of unconsciousness. He lay in peaceful slumber until he ceased to breathe. His congregation at the time were gathered for worship in his church. Tidings of his decease were conveyed to the officiating minister, in the midst of the service, and, though not unexpected, having been announced from the pulpit in a few feeling words, were received by the people with deep emotion. His funeral took place from the church, Wednesday, Jan. 19, 1876. It was attended not only by his parishioners and many citizens of Weston, but by a large number of clergymen and other friends from Boston and the neighboring towns.

His body was laid at rest in the new cemetery at Weston, a retired spot in the shadow of a grove at some distance from the highway. Over his grave stands a simple marble slab with the inscription: "He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment, and I will confess his name before my Father and before his angels."

Mr. Sears was married Nov. 7, 1839, to Ellen, daughter of Hon. Ebenezer Bacon, of Barnstable, Massachusetts. They had four children, — Katherine, born Feb. 25, 1843, died Jan. 12, 1853; Francis Bacon, born Jan. 21, 1849; Edmund Hamilton, born April 20, 1852; Horace Scudder, born Feb. 26, 1855.

*Publications of Rev. Edmund H. Sears.*

Address at Lancaster, before the Washington Total Abstinence Society. Boston, 1841.

Good Works. — A Sermon preached at Lancaster, Feb. 5, 1843.

A Discourse preached at Lancaster, Sunday, March 19, 1843, at the Funeral of Deacon Samuel F. White. Boston, 1843.

A Discourse occasioned by the Death of Rev. Isaac Allen, of Bolton, preached at Lancaster, March 24, 1844. Worcester, 1844.

Voices of the Past. — A Discourse preached at Lancaster the last Sabbath in the year, Dec. 29, 1844. Boston, 1845.

Pictures of the Olden Time, as shown in the Fortunes of a Family of the Pilgrims. Boston, 1853.

Regeneration. Boston, 1853.

Revolution or Reform. — A Discourse occasioned by the Present Crisis, preached at Wayland, June 15, 1856. Boston, 1856.

Athanasia; or, Foregleams of Immortality. Boston, 1858.

Hindrance to a Successful Ministry. — A Sermon preached at the Ordination of Jared M. Heard, in Clinton, Aug. 25, 1858. Boston, 1858.

Christian Lyrics. Norwich, 1860.

Lesson from the Memories of a Good Life. — A Discourse preached at Weston, Oct. 20, 1872, the Sunday after the Death of Miss Abby M. Marshall. Boston, 1872.

The Fourth Gospel, the Heart of Christ. Boston, 1872.

Foregleams and Foreshadows of Immortality. (Revised from his Athanasia.) 1873.

Sermons and Songs of the Christian Life. Boston, 1875.

Christ in Life. Boston, 1877.

Worship. Boston [n. d.].

Many articles in the Monthly Religious Magazine, of which he was one of the editors from Jan. 1, 1859, to 1871.

## OCTOBER MEETING, 1880.

The regular monthly meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, October 14, at 3 o'clock, P.M., in the Dowse Library; the Rev. Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary, the Treasurer, Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH, was appointed Secretary *pro tem*.

The record of the last meeting was read and accepted.

The Librarian communicated a list of the accessions to the Library during the last month, calling especial attention to the work of an Associate Member, Mr. Charles Eliot Norton, on "Church Building in the Middle Ages."

A letter was read from the Hon. Zachariah Allen, of Providence, Rhode Island, accepting his election as a Corresponding Member. The Chairman then communicated a letter from Mr. Dexter, tendering his resignation of the office of Recording Secretary, as follows:—

CAMBRIDGE, 1 Oct., 1880.

*The Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, LL.D.,  
President Mass. Historical Society.*

MY DEAR SIR,— It is with great regret that I find myself obliged to ask you to communicate to the next meeting of the Council my resignation of the office of Recording Secretary. But my health has become uncertain, and my physician tells me that I cannot expect to go to Boston, or to attend to business of any kind, for some months to come.

As I cannot perform the duties of the office, I must necessarily resign it. I do so with regret, for I have appreciated the honor of the position, and enjoyed the pleasant duties of the office.

I am, with great respect, sincerely yours,

GEORGE DEXTER.

After remarks by the Hon. AMOS A. LAWRENCE, the following Resolutions presented by the Council were unanimously adopted:—

*Resolved*, That the members of the Massachusetts Historical Society have heard with much regret the letter of George Dexter, Esq., tendering his resignation of the office of Recording Secretary on account of ill health, and that they recall with great satisfaction the learning, fidelity, and good judgment with which he has discharged its duties.

*Resolved*, That Mr. Dexter's resignation be not accepted, and that the Corresponding Secretary be requested to communicate to him the best wishes of the Society for his early and entire restoration to health.

Dr. Theodor Mommsen, of Berlin, was elected an Honorary Member.

On motion of Dr. GREEN, Mr. Bradford Kingman, of Brookline, was allowed to copy, under the rules, certain memoranda of local interest in the diary of the late Rev. John Pierce, D.D., to be used by Mr. Kingman in the preparation of a History of Brookline.

An application was received from Mrs. Charles T. Jackson for permission to deposit with the Society the medals and decorations which had belonged to her husband, and which had been given to him on account of the introduction of etherization in surgery; and the application was granted on the same conditions on which the Society had accepted a similar deposit of the medals and decorations which belonged to the late Dr. W. T. G. Morton.

Dr. ELLIS then spoke as follows:—

It is but rarely that our honored President, when he has been on this side of the ocean, during the quarter of a century of his occupancy of this chair, has failed to meet us punctually here, and to open, animate, and instruct our meetings, from his own full resources of mind, of family papers, and of correspondence. Indeed, he has so seldom left the chair to his substitutes, that they have had no opportunity to practise or to familiarize themselves with its duties. In a letter which I received from him last week, he wrote that his obligations, as a delegate to the Episcopal Convention now assembled in New York, would preclude his being with us to-day. It is for me mainly to engage you for a few moments in following out two or three suggestions made by him in his letter.

Mr. Winthrop intimates that some allusion may properly be made on our records to the success of the recent celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of our city, in which the Society was so courteously invited to take a part. It was, indeed, a most successful and delightful occasion. The propitious sky, the pleasant atmosphere, the neatness in aspect and the holiday garb of the city; the guests from over the whole country and from Canada, summoned by a generous hospitality; the admirable and vigorous address of His Honor

the Mayor, reviewing, in a masterly and attractive sketch, the planting and development of this ancient municipality; the splendid military display; the representation of large bodies of organized associations and citizens; the imposing parade of the actual handicrafts, mechanism, tools, engines, and ingenious processes, setting forth the industries, the thrift, the economies, and the amazing achievements of our time in every thing characteristic of this place and our age; and then the vast, uncounted throngs of delighted spectators, on sidewalk, platform, balcony, roof, and window-sitting,—all these elements of a civic celebration on the grandest scale, marked by the most perfect order in combination and hilarity, and happily involving no harm to life or limb in the exposure and movement of such multitudes of men, women, and children, may well be gratefully entered on all records that are to reach future times. Our Society did not avail itself of the offered privilege of appearing together in a body, but was well represented by its members, as individuals appeared in their assigned places as special guests in recognition of their other relations to the national government, the State or the city. As was most fitting, the one only quadriga which appeared in the cavalcade, after the escort, bore the chief magistrate of the city and our President, the representative in continuity of life, in flesh and blood, of the revered founder of the town and State, whose statue in bronze was unveiled on that day, a long-deferred tribute to his pre-eminent claims to our veneration and gratitude.

Happily this Society is not called upon to express, much less to put on record, any opinion or judgment as to the ideal-ity or the execution of that work of art, the tenth of the bronze statues now standing in the city. It must bear the brunt of criticism, as its predecessors have done, without weakening at the knees or changing countenance. A ready reply offers itself to each of us as we listen to the critic. We may ask, "How ought the statue to look? What should it be?" Governor Winthrop is not a good subject for bronze or for metal of any kind. It is safe to say that the living man was better in mien and make and character than any effigies can present him. This cannot be said of all those who are commemorated on canvas, in stone or bronze. The monumental memorials, in figure and in structure, of all simple, primitive, and worthy men and times are always rude, and without the finish of ideal art, while the most beautiful statues and temples of Greece and Rome were perfected at the very time when all faith in the beings they represented had died out of living convictions.

Our President would also remind us, for recognition on our records, that the twenty-fifth day of this month will complete the centennial year of the adoption of the Constitution of Massachusetts. No further action or motion of ours in reference to that day, beyond this recognition, need be taken. As cities, towns, and various associations, scientific, literary, religious, social, charitable, and commercial, take in hand their own special anniversaries and centennials, so it is for our State authorities, according to their inclination or judgment, to note the coming of that day or the occasion which gave it its mark. Doubtless it will not have passed without at least a backward reference to it by our next Legislature. This would but renew our oft-repeated tribute to John Adams, James Bowdoin, and a few others, whose wisdom, patriotism, and love of free institutions secured by wholesome laws, are embodied in our Constitution.

It will be remembered that at our meeting last June, our attention was called to a suggestion from Canon Farrar, of St. Margaret's, Westminster, London, that our own and other of our Historical Societies might be interested in contributing towards a proposed memorial window in that venerable sanctuary to the renowned Sir Walter Raleigh, who is there buried. In a letter which I have recently received from Canon Farrar he expresses his grateful appreciation of our first response to his happy suggestion. He says that a sum between £500 and £600 will accomplish the desired result.

Subscriptions to this date from the Society, £50; at large, £190; in all from the country, £240.

A courteous invitation was sent to the officers of this Society by the Maryland Historical Society, that we might be represented with it in the part they were to take in the celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the city of Baltimore. Gladly would I have availed myself of the invitation had my engagements admitted, and I could only make a grateful recognition of the courtesy. I do not know whether this Society had any representation on the occasion. But we have certainly followed with hearty interest the accounts in the journals of the exultant throngs, the demonstrative pageants, the popular enthusiasm, and the historic retrospects of the glad observance. Our kindred society must derive much inspiration and much new material from the occasion.

Dr. GREEN called attention to an advertisement and two woodcuts of Windsor chairs in the "Massachusetts Gazette"



of Sept. 7, 1787; considerable interest having been expressed, at previous meetings of the Society, in regard to the origin of the name.

The Rev. Dr. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE then offered the following Resolution:—

*Resolved*, That a committee of three be appointed by the President, of which the President shall be chairman, to consider and report to this Society some plan of using the names of the streets in Boston to preserve the memory of historic characters and events.

The Resolution elicited interesting remarks by Dr. Clarke, Dr. Ellis, Mr. Sibley, Dr. Green, Mr. T. C. Amory, Mr. Everett, Dr. Paige, and Mr. G. B. Chase, and was then adopted; and the Hon. R. C. Winthrop, the Rev. Dr. Clarke, and Dr. William Everett were named as the Committee.

Mr. ELLIS AMES spoke of an unpublished autobiography of Cotton Mather, formerly in the possession of the late Rev. Dr. William Jenks, and now owned by a gentleman in New York, and stated that a descendant of Cotton Mather had intermarried with a descendant of the Rev. George Burroughs, one of the victims of the witchcraft delusion. He also referred to the well-known opinions of a former President of the Society, the late Hon. James Savage, as to the credibility of any statement which rested on the unsupported authority of Cotton Mather.

## NOVEMBER MEETING, 1880.

The regular monthly meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, November 11th, at 3 o'clock, P.M., in the Dowse Library; the President, Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary, Rev. H. W. FOOTE was appointed Secretary *pro tem*.

The Librarian communicated a list of the accessions to the Library during the last month.

The Corresponding Secretary presented his report.

The President then spoke as follows:—

I was sorry, Gentlemen, to be absent from the last monthly meeting of our Society; but I have abundant assurance, both from the records which have just been read and from other sources, that the Society lost nothing by my absence;— thanks to the kindness and never-failing readiness of Dr. Ellis.

My detention for more than three weeks at New York deprived me of the enjoyment of more than one interesting occasion, both here and elsewhere.

Governor Long had been good enough to include me, as the President of this Society, among those specially invited to the Council Chamber on the 25th ultimo, to commemorate the centennial anniversary of the organization of our State Government, under the Constitution of 1780; and our brethren of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society had paid us a similar honor.

Of that Constitution, John Adams, pre-eminently, and James Bowdoin and Samuel Adams were the framers; and the Convention which ratified and adopted it, over which Bowdoin presided, included Hancock and Lowell and Cabot and Gorham and Sullivan and Cushing and Caleb Strong and all the other great names of the Massachusetts of that day, embodying as much of patriotism and of political experience and wisdom as any assembly ever gathered on New England or American soil. Bowdoin, writing soon afterward to John Adams, who had gone Ambassador to France, said of its work: "The era of the new government commenced accidentally on the anniversary of the demise of his late Majesty,

George II. Some good people think this circumstance a happy omen, indicating a perpetual end to regal government in these States." George II. had died on the 25th of October, just twenty years before; but the dates of the deaths and births of kings and queens were not soon forgotten in those old colony times, and the death of George II. had been particularly impressed upon the memories of all Harvard graduates by its having given occasion to the famous volume, — "*Pietas et Gratulatio*," — to which more than one of the eminent men of our Constitutional era had contributed. At all events, the omen has not proved fallacious.

As the President of this Society, moreover, as well as in other capacities, I had urgent invitations to be present at the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary, or, as it has somewhere been odiously entitled, the sesqui-centennial, of the settlement of Baltimore, the celebration of which lasted four or five days. One of these days, the 12th of October, was occupied by the Maryland Historical Society with an address and a banquet. The venerable philanthropist, Peter Cooper, of New York, who has some peculiar ties to the Monumental City, as Baltimore is called, and who, in his 81st year, was one of the principal guests of the occasion, told me that, in all his long experience, he had never witnessed so successful and so splendid a celebration in any part of the world. If we could all, in all quarters of our country, be as zealous in maintaining the purity and integrity of our institutions, as we have been of late in glorifying their establishment and celebrating their founders, we should not require the omen of the death of kings to assure us of the perpetuation of free government. It may be hoped and expected that our library will receive, at no distant day, a full account of this great historical commemoration in Baltimore.

But, more than any of the public occasions to which I have thus alluded, I should have enjoyed the quiet observance, to which I was kindly invited, of the 97th birthday of good old Artemas Hale, of Bridgewater, Massachusetts, with whom I served in Congress from 1845 to 1849, and for whom the highest regard and respect are everywhere entertained. He had completed ninety-seven years on the 20th of October last, and was able to entertain company at dinner. You will all, I am sure, unite heartily with me in hoping that he may be permitted to finish a century of life, and to exhibit, like Dr. Holyoke, of Salem, in 1828, the remarkable vitality and vigor which he now enjoys, and which is so rare at such an age.

Mr. Hale has been spoken of, in the newspapers, as the oldest living ex-member of Congress, and, in one sense of that phrase, he probably is. He is, so far as we know, the oldest man now living who has ever served in the House of Representatives of the United States. But there is another sense to the description which has been given of him. There are many men living in all parts of the country who were in Congress long before he was, and who are thus older than he in their relations to the National Legislature.

I had supposed, for a long time, that my venerable friend, the late Hon. Peleg Sprague, who died during my absence, on the 12th ultimo, in his 88th year, was the senior ex-member of Congress in this latter sense. He was known to this generation only by his long and eminent services as Judge of our United States District Court. But he had been not less distinguished in another generation as a representative and as a senator in Congress from the State of Maine for ten years, beginning in 1825 and ending in 1835. He had thus entered Congress fifty-five years ago.

But our accomplished Honorary Member, Mr. Grigsby, has called my attention to the fact that his friend, the Hon. Mark Alexander, now in his 89th year, was a representative in Congress from Mecklenburg County, Virginia, where he still resides in the full enjoyment of all his faculties, from 1819 to 1833; and, still further, that the Hon. John A. Cuthbert, originally of Georgia, and now a practising lawyer in Florida, was in the same Congress with Mark Alexander in 1819, — sixty-one years ago.

These gentlemen are believed, in default of further discoveries, to be the oldest living ex-members of Congress, though not the oldest men living who have been members. Among these last, I may add, Massachusetts may count more than one. Besides Artemas Hale, there is Joseph Grinnell, who represented the New Bedford District from 1843 to 1851, and whom I met last month at New York, in full health and activity, in his 92d year. Nor can I forget our Associate, Charles Hudson, the historian of Lexington, whose pen is still active in his 86th year, and who was in Congress from 1841 to 1849. In conclusion, I may once more illustrate the distinction — obvious enough without illustration, but which is often of late confounded in common parlance or in newspaper paragraphs — by saying that I am myself an older ex-member of Congress than any of those three venerable Massachusetts friends, though they are considerably older men than I am.

George Otto Trevelyan, Esq., of London, and Henry Adams, of Washington, D. C., were nominated as Corresponding Members.

Rev. Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS read an interesting letter which he had received from his brother, the Rev. Rufus Ellis, D.D., minister of the First Church, describing a visit while in England to the English homes of some of the progenitors of this Commonwealth, as follows:—

When I found that I should have some days and possibly weeks in England this summer of our two hundred and fiftieth year in Church and State, my thoughts naturally turned toward the English homes of the fathers and mothers of the Commonwealth and congregations of Massachusetts. My good neighbor and kind friend, the President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, was beforehand with the suggestion that I should run down from London to the home of his ancestor, whose name none of us can ever speak without a sense of reverence and deep gratitude; and, lest I should hesitate, he provided me with a letter of introduction to the rector of Groton. The day—I wish it had been an entire day—in that quiet place was my first experience on old Puritan ground, with the exception of a few hours in old Boston ten years ago. The rector, who appreciates things in America, and is glad to be indebted to Mr. Winthrop for many kindnesses, gave to G. and myself a most cordial welcome and large hospitality in the rectory, a part of which is more than three hundred years old, as one might gather from its low ceiling and rough-hewn beams. Indeed, the minister told me that only with extreme caution could our friend the Rev. Phillips Brooks “get about” under the door-ways. He is not in the habit of “losing his head,” but it is a wonder he did not then and there.

The church of which Adam Winthrop was patron is a fine old building, with admirable capabilities for restoration, of which the Winthrop descendants in our country have generously availed themselves. Besides the beautiful chancel window, a new organ chamber is in process of construction, under the same encouragement from “children’s children unto the third and fourth generations.” The exquisitely written church register, with the names of Adam Winthrop and John Winthrop his son, is carefully preserved, and we saw the site of the old manor house and the mulberry-tree of John Winthrop’s day; but it was more than the sight of any particular object to be on the very spot where our founder had

lived during his earliest years, where his Puritanism deepened into a settled conviction, and, better than all, his manly and gentle nature was nurtured. It was an average day,—that is, a rainy day,—and it rained all the way from Liverpool Street Station to Groton, but that did not matter; it seemed so pleasant to read familiar names at the stations; for example, Malden, Hadleigh (not our briefer spelling), Sudbury, and Yarmouth (which we left on our right and did not go to), and to think of the Winthrops, father and son, making the journey on horseback to London, through the same country in that old fermenting and transition time. I was glad, by the way, to find that, however destructive Cromwell's soldiers sometimes were, the Puritans are not to be held accountable for the whitewash and mortar in and on the old churches,—these belong to a much later day. I shall always recall my visit to Groton with great satisfaction, and am very glad that it came off this year. But this is only the beginning of my experiences. One evening my eyes fortunately fell upon an article in the "Saturday Review" upon "Oakham and Uppingham." Why I read on I can't tell, for Oakham and Uppingham meant nothing to me. Still I did read, and before long my eye caught the name of Isaac Johnson, of whom and of the Lady Arbella the record is at once so brief and so sad, to our great disappointment. Being a great *ignoramus* in such matters, I was, of course, like other ignoramuses, delighted to find that in one thing I was better informed than the writer of the paper, and that Johnson's wife died before her husband, and not after him, as he wrote. I hope I am right. But, seriously, the columns proved to be exceedingly interesting. I was reading of what must be one of the most fascinating places in England, and at the same time of the old home of the Johnsons. So we decided to go to Oakham and Uppingham, and then to Stamford, Peterborough, Boston, and Lincoln. I wish now I had added Serooby. Well, Oakham—reached in a few hours by the Midland Railroad, excellent when it has no accident, as it is rather in the way of having—is one of the most fascinating places you ever saw or dreamed of. Extremely old-fashioned, quaint, thatched more or less, and grass-grown, a good deal behind the times, one would say, compassed about by "gentry," with a lovely old "butter-cross" in the centre of the town, shops that seem to have no customers to speak of, and beyond all an exquisite church and two of the finest specimens of old house and old castle in England. A kind letter from the writer in the "Saturday Review" prepared my way and secured me a

favorable reception from the rector, who, however, when I owned up, as in honor bound, to a considerable amount of broad churchism, (what right has an Anglican to quarrel with that?) manifested a deal of anxiety about me, but none the less provided me with a genealogy, a copy of which was afterward given to me by a Johnson, and will be plainer reading to you than to me. It will give you interesting information about the past and present Johnsons, who in the former days and now in these days were and are lords of the manor in Rutlandshire, like Adam Winthrop. I don't think the rector knew or cared to know much about the Puritan, and had not read, as some of his parishioners had, the article in the "Saturday Review," written, by the way, by an archdeacon connected with the Lincoln Cathedral; but he told me, what I had already heard, that one of the Johnsons was to be in Oakham, as good luck would have it, that very evening, on his way to "a meet," I opined. He came, and I had a very pleasant talk with him. His eldest brother represents now one of the Johnson estates, and presides over its great trusts for the poor and for the education of young men in two endowed schools or collections of schools, the larger in Uppingham, the smaller in Oakham. These schools were founded by Archdeacon Johnson, the grandfather of our Isaac, and they have a deservedly great name for the great men they have educated. I visited the Uppingham "Institution," as we should be left to call it, and if I had a dozen boys to educate I would borrow the money and send them there. One of their school arrangements was perfect; each boy has in the large school-yard a little study warmed by hot-water pipes, and fitted up plainly or elaborately according to individual taste. I was delighted with the head-master, the Rev. Mr. Thring, and I presume I should have been with most of the other masters. Mr. Thring has raised his school from twenty-five to three hundred and twenty scholars. Jeremy Taylor was four years rector of Uppingham, and the sexton shows his pulpit as "Gen'ral Taylor's pulpit; or Gen'l'man's Taylor's, I don't mind which; anyhow, he lived a long while ago."

The Flores House, in Oakham, is early English, with a shafted doorway of the thirteenth century, and is a beautiful relic of domestic architecture. The castle is happily unaltered in what remains of it, and is of exceeding beauty; well enough preserved to serve still as a court-room for the assizes. "Next to the singular beauty of the architecture, the horseshoes which crowd the walls — the tribute of many



regal as well as noble visitors, from Queen Elizabeth down to her present Majesty when Princess Victoria, and the Princess Teck — attract the visitors' attention. There are horseshoes of every size, from the huge Brobdignagian gilt rings six feet across, which hang over the judge's seat, to the little shoes of as many inches over the side doors, and of various materials, from that of George IV., when Prince Regent, of polished brass, to the humble, matter-of-fact, rusty iron shoes actually taken from a horse's foot." Every peer of Parliament, according to ancient "custom of the manor," must contribute a horseshoe, to be nailed to the castle gate the first time he enters the town. All these things are exceedingly fascinating, and the church, judiciously restored, not the least. The earliest portions go back to the beginning of the fourteenth century, and a grand old Norman tub-shaped font remains. But — more interesting than all else — we were in the region of the Johnsons, from Maurice of Stamford, "a Catholic" M. P. 1525, to Rev. Robert, installed rector of North Luffenham in 1571, Archdeacon of Leicester, born about 1540, chaplain to the Lord Keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon, favored with a confirmation of arms from Queen Elizabeth's own hand, founder of these famous schools and of "exhibitions" in colleges at Cambridge. Then comes Abraham, and then our Isaac, lord of the manors of Clipsham, County Rutland, and of Brampston, County Northants, Esq., "a Puritan," aged eighteen in 1618; went to New England in "Mr. Winthorpe's party" in 1629, and died at Boston, in New England, 30 Sept. 1630. The Johnsons were not all on one side. One of them, the Rev. "Ezekiel" was ejected from Paulerspury by the Parliamentarians. The archdeacon was also Prebendary of Windsor and Rochester, "preached painfully and kept good hospitality," and lived on this earth eighty-five years, which is quite long enough.

At Stamford I found the widow of the late Lieut.-Gen. William Augustus Johnson of Wytham on the Hill, who died in 1863 at the advanced age of eighty-six, a distinguished soldier and member of Parliament for old Boston. His eldest son, in conformity with the statutes, is at present patron of the schools of Oakham and Uppingham. Mrs. Johnson is greatly interested in the family story, and most kindly gave me all she had to give in the way of records. I might go on with this until even you would be weary, as I certainly should be. But I must add that I passed on to Peterborough, Lincoln, and Boston, where I was most hospitably entertained by those of like faith, and was assured by

the rector of St. Botolph's that he should surely have come to the Boston two hundred and fiftieth had they telegraphed his invitation from the old Boston to his retreat somewhere in Scotland; but old Boston is a much slower place than the New England city of that name, and the authorities sent the message by mail, and it was too late. All the while I have been saying to myself, What a day of faith that was in England! Why, just when I was in that county of Rutland, with its dear old towns, houses, and churches, "the gentry," as the driver of our dog-cart called the idle people, were beginning to be occupied five days in the week with riding pell mell after a few poor hares or foxes! Out of just such surroundings went the Puritans, convinced, I suppose, that the case was wellnigh hopeless for any who would live their intense life, whether in the church or in the baronial hall or in the manor house. "They went out not knowing whither they went," and it turned out that Puritanism and a Commonwealth were more than England could bear in that day. If only those men and women could have remained to help, through their children and children's children, the England of to-day, to make their own all that was divine and human, holy and healthy in Puritanism and the Commonwealth! But then where should we have been? and doubtless God knows and provides what is best and makes history better than we can.

I ought to add that I passed through Derby, Cotton's birth-place, and through Northampton, which may claim Dudley, who, by the way, to tell the truth, is not a special favorite of mine, if he was a founder. I was sorry to find at Windsor that in reflooring the chapel in 1789 they removed the stone and the brasses thereon, which ought still to preserve the name of the father of our John Wilson. It seems to me that the least they can do is to put the old brasses in some safe place, and not let them go to the junk shop. The resident canon, Rev. Hugh Pearson, was very kind in looking up this matter, and sincerely regretted the neglect of the curators of the building in former days. How glad I should be of that old brass in our chapel! I ought to have had a stone from St. Botolph's, for that congregation loved Cotton if Laud did not. I have a "boss" from the old ceiling, made of oak, and removed in 1662. It is very genuine and very ugly, but also very precious. Mr. Edward Everett tried to buy for our church an old iron-bound chest, used — when he fell in with it — by the workmen about the building for their beer and bread, though it once held the communion vessels, and was

borne off at one time with those precious contents by sacrilegious thieves; but when the church authorities learned how much he prized it, they fitted it up themselves, and would not sell. We Unitarians would not have used it as a receptacle for beer and biscuit.

Dr. EVERETT called attention to the fact that the districts in England, alluded to in the paper of Dr. Ellis, preserve the same tones and modes of pronouncing the names of places which were brought to this country by the Puritans. This led to a discussion of some details of such pronunciation, by Mr. C. C. Perkins, Dr. Everett, and Dr. Green.

On the motion of Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH, it was

*Voted*, That the Recording Secretary, Mr. George Dexter, and the Rev. H. M. Dexter, D.D., be authorized to represent the Society while abroad, on all proper occasions.

Mr. DEANE communicated a copy of a letter, and abstracts of several other letters, of Edward Randolph, celebrated as "the evil genius of New England," transcribed from the originals in the library of the late Sir Thomas Phillipps, of Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, England, by Mrs. Mary Anne Everett Greene, well known as the editor of several of the Calendars of the English State Papers. The letters were addressed to Sir Robert Southwell, an English statesman and diplomatist. These abstracts were made for the late Rev. Leonard Woods, LL.D., in 1868, while in pursuit of material to illustrate the history of Maine. The letter of which a full copy is given was written when Randolph was about to sail to New England to serve the writ of *quo warranto* against the Massachusetts Charter. The other letters, or the principal part of them, were written on his return to England, and while waiting to be again sent to Boston, on his fifth voyage, in the full expectation of a permanent provision being made for his employment there in the government which was preparing to take the place of that which fell on the revocation of the charter. Mr. DEANE expressed the opinion that it would some time be desirable to obtain complete transcripts of all these letters, which he thought could be effected with little cost, and that the publication of these abstracts would serve as a reminder.

Mr. DEANE also communicated for publication in the Proceedings a transcript from the State archives of Randolph's "Narrative" of his several voyages to New England, with

the several dates of sailing and arriving to and fro, which he had recently had occasion to consult, and which he found convenient and valuable as a reference in studying the history of the period to which it related. He had noticed other Randolph papers in the State archives which he believed had never been published.

The papers communicated by Mr. DEANE here follow :—\*

PHILLIPPS MS. 8720.

*Volume of letters from Edw. Randolph to Sir Rob. Southwell relative to a proposed voyage to New England, containing a good deal of miscellaneous matter also.†*

1683, Aug. 19, *Whitehall*. HON<sup>d</sup> SIR,—Since mine to you of the 28 last, the Rose frigate of 20 guns, an Algerine prize, is fitted out to sea, and bound to the Spanish wreck off the Bahama islands, under the conduct of one Phips, a New England man, who upon his late successful returns in that undertaking, is entrusted by his Majesty and commissioned for the whole business. He is to call at Boston to take in his diving tubs and other necessities, and to return to England to account for and share the purchase, upon which ship I am now directed to take my passage. The Boston agents are in the Downs, and stay till our ship, now at Deptford, falls down, being obliged to stay here by order in Council, till I am ready to sail, which gives me a credit—and but needful—for by those who come now from thence, as also by my letters, I have great reason to believe the party there had more than hints of the horrid conspiracy lately detected; for at my coming away, they were very calm, but since, high and daring in words and actions, hoping the Lord would work a great deliverance for his own, as they usually cant. I hope to be with them in October, the session of their general court; 'twill startle them to find such a round turn; and if they do not comply in all duty, they will make themselves for ever after incapable of the blessings offered in his Majesty's declaration to them, which will be sent you from the Plantation office.

I have spent some time with Mr. Dudley, one of their present

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\* Since communicating these papers to the Society my attention has been called to the fact that Randolph's "Narrative" has already been published by Mr. Whitmore, in the Andros Tracts, vol. iii. pp. 214-218. This had quite escaped my attention or recollection. However, on examining the copy there printed, I find that by some inadvertence one entry has been omitted, and a wrong date given to another, so that, it being desirable to correct these errors, the Publishing Committee have decided to reprint the "Narrative" here. There are besides several errors in the original manuscript which it is important should be pointed out; and this has been done in notes appended to it. The orthography of the manuscript has been modernized, and the abbreviations generally have been spelled out in printing.

Our Associate, Mr. C. W. Tuttle, has announced his intention of publishing a Life of Edward Randolph, with a collection of his letters.—D.

† This is probably the heading of the copyist.—D.

agents, endeavoring to accommodate things for their future settlement, as by the enclosed paper\* which we have agreed; whether upon design (as the former agents) to get leave to go home, I know not, but certain it is that all this is very necessary on his Majesty's behalf, to be put in practice there.

As to the way of settling the chief power, I certainly believe nothing can be so wholesome for the whole plantation as to have one Governor general — a sober, discreet gentleman, to be sent from his Majesty, and to have a Council chose out of the Magistrates of all the colonies and provinces, in all not consisting above 25, to be like the house of Lords, to hear all appeals from inferior courts, and to assign places and persons to try causes arising betwixt colony and colony and inhabitants of different colonies. I remember it has been often proposed that 5 or 7 persons were commissioned to manage the whole country, and those to be nominated and sent over by his Majesty at his charge. I believe 'twould be very difficult to get a salary for two fit persons to be joined in commission with one upon the place, and except they had a plentiful allowance, good men would not undertake that service. If to expect it from the revenue which may arise upon the place, it would seem grievous to them to maintain their governors and followers at such rates as are just necessary for their handsome support; besides in a short time the power at first distributed to several would soon centre in one person, as now in the Treasury and Admiralty. I believe a governor general would be very grateful to all sober persons, and in regard they are extended a great distance upon the sea, and so cannot without great trouble repair to Boston, the chief residence, here very necessary that two deputy governors were appointed, and the plantation divided as the two ridings in Yorkshire. We daily experience the difficulty of despatch, by multiplying addresses to the offices managed by Commissioners.

I am now entering upon my fourth voyage for New England, where in all my transactions, I have plainly demonstrated that I have chiefly aimed at his Majesty's service, having omitted all advantages and proposals to gratify my private affairs. I am now out of purse above 300£ in prosecuting seizures made and followed with great hazard and charge, and although I have to this day received nothing towards it but my travelling charges, which every gentleman passes in his steward's or other servant's account, I have still suppressed every thing relating to myself, in hopes at last to find a just reward for all my undertakings. I have now 4 daughters living; it may please God so to order it that I may by sea or other accident be taken away. 'Twould be but justice that my commission might be managed by my brother, who now goes over with me, and that my children thereby might receive the benefit of it; besides I have discovered a tract of land granted to and a long time in the possession of Hugh Peters, since disposed of by his agent. Its worth 2 or 3 hundred pounds. Its forfeited by his treason to the King and the grant of it would be a

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\* This enclosure is not in the collection.

kindness to my children. The daily objects of pity I meet with at Court, of such whose relations have spent in his Majesty's service their lives and fortunes obliges me, for my children's sake, to engage my friends in their behalf, in case of any accident befalling me. [3 pp.]

1683, *Aug. 19, Whitehall*. Promises him "a collection of such rarities as my interest and the shortness of my stay there can procure." [ $\frac{1}{2}$  p.]

1684, *May 3, Whitehall*. About the reversion of places in the tower, or some other preferment for Sir Thomas Smith. Is going to New England on one of 2 ships sent from Bristol. [3 pp.]

1684, *May 13, Whitehall*. Expects to have to go to New England, but it is to be decided by Council. The princess of Denmark is delivered of a dead daughter. T. Oates is arrested at the Duke's suit for *scandalum magnatum*. [1 p.]

*May 17, Whitehall*. Will not have to go to New England. The error in the Bostoners' charter having been acknowledged hopes to get judgment against it next term. Sends letters for friends in N. E.

1684-5, *Jan. 29, Whitehall*. I lost a wife in New England. I have sent an account of my whole adventures and charges there to the Com<sup>r</sup> and the King has commended me to the Treasury. All the mischiefs expected in Boston are laid to my charge. Has sent a list of names to be put on the Council, but knows none of them will come to hear Divine service.

There are complaints from New Hampshire of the arbitrary conduct of the governor in imprisoning as conspirators some who met only to execute a will. Touching particulars — some miners have arrived in N. E. who have undertaken the lead mines. There is a difference between Lord Baltimore and Mr. Penn about boundaries. Other particulars relating to Maryland and Virginia and Boston. [4 pp.]

Abstract of Mr. Randolph's pet. to the Com<sup>r</sup> for Trade, giving a digest of his services relating to N. E. from March 1675-6 to Oct. 15, 1684, and reference of his pet. to the Treasury Comrs.

*Randolph's letters to Southwell continued.*

1684-5, *Feb. 16, Whitehall*. Court news on the accession of James II. (curious). The king will discountenance the late immorality at Court, and has put away Mrs. Sibley.\* [1 p.]

*May 9, Plantation Office*. Curious details of the trials on Titus Oates' plot. [3 pp.]

*July 30*. Court news. Has *quo warrantos* against Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Delaware. Expects to go to N. E. News from Boston. Impost of Tobacco from Virginia, &c. [2 pp.]

*Aug. 1, Plantation Office*. Court News. Mr. Coney, governor of Bermudas, is called home.† Asks whether to try for that government. Likes N. E. well, and could live happily there in spite of their ill

\* Probably Mrs. Sedley was written or intended. See Macaulay's Hist. of England, vol. i. chap. vi. — D.

† He resigned the government 12 April, 1687. — D.

treatment. They will in time be convinced of their folly in contending with their Prince. The troubles of 1681 broke his wife's heart. If "General Kirk be the man for N. E. I cannot see how that can be a place for me." Argues the advisability of his own return thither. [3½ pp.]

1685, Aug. 3, *Lord Sunderland's Office*. News about the Rye House Plot. [1 p.]

Aug. 8. Private affairs — many hundreds of families are removing to the foreign plantations. They are affrighted at their new governor. Should he pass the seas into foreign parts, whither then will they remove? [1 p.]

Aug. 17. Will hear to-morrow about going to N. E. Court news. None about court are tempted to change their religion by the splendid accommodations of the new chapel.

Aug. 29. Is going to N. E. with large powers from the Customs Cours. and is taking a com<sup>n</sup> for a temporary government. They have been in a terrible fright of Col. Kirk's being sent. He has shortened his passage to N. E. by his late expedition to the west. Lord Jeffries reproved him severely on his return to Windsor. Home news. [1½ pp.]

Sept. 1. News. The navy com<sup>n</sup> are to conclude about a supply of mails from N. E. The Virginia merchants are dissatisfied about their Tobacco. [1 p.]

1685, Sept. 7. Death of the Lord Keeper.\* I am hurried to be gone for N. E. [1 p.]

Sept. 10, *Plantation Office*. News. Mr. Mason is to be of the N. E. Council. He should be advised to moderation, or he will get into a ferment against his former antagonists. I have asked a frigate, or else as the country is 100 leagues of coast I cannot secure it against the shipping away of tobacco and sugar. [2 pp.]

Oct. 3. Mr. Mason spoken of as governor of Bermudas. Nothing but the late king's promise pleads for Col. Kirk to be governor of N. E. and the Taunton affair is more than flying rumours. [2 pp.]

Oct. 14. Sails in 10 days. Court news. [1 p.]

Oct. 23. Preparations for starting. Hopes the settlement of the distracted country on a good foundation. Expected to find them turbulent, but when they hear that matters turn so quick upon their friends in England, and that sheriff Cornish was hanged in Cheapside, they will be glad to be quiet on any terms. [2 pp.]

Nov. 10, *Deal*. Is to erect a post office in N. E., will give the profits to Mr. Mason's children. [1 p.]

Nov. 23, *Deal*. Hopes to sail in 2 or 3 days. Has an ague. [1 p.]

Nov. 27, *Deal*. The happy understanding which may be the product of this prorogation will oblige the N. E. people to dutiful compliance with the King's commands. Has a deputation to be postmaster of N. E. If the King would send over Sir M. Vincent, or some gentleman of good estate, it would ease those people who have been

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\* Francis North, Earl of Guilford. — D.



greatly oppressed and will be ruined by the late imposts on plantation commodities. [1½ pp.]

1685-6, Jan. 11, *Deal*. Is detained by damage to the ship in a storm. Wishes they had sailed before the report of another prorogation. Is taking a sober gentleman as minister. The commander will continue a year on the coast, unless sent home with prisoners, and that may keep the heady in awe.\* [1 p.]

[1686] July 10, *Boston*. Dangerous and tedious voyage. Coming with an olive branch, was welcomed at first. Long details of ill treatment of himself and wife from the government in Boston. [3 pp.]

[RANDOLPH'S NARRATIVE.]

Mass. Archives, vol. cxxvii. pp. 218-220.

*A short Narrative of my proceedings and several voyages to and from N. England to Whitehall during the time of my managing his Majesty's affairs in N. England, humbly presented by Edward Randolph.*

1675, Mar. 20. I received his Majesty's letters to the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England to attend at Whitehall and answer the complaints brought against them by Mr. Mason and Mr. Gorges.

1676, June 10. I arrived in N. England and delivered his Majesty's letters to the Governor and Council then sitting at Boston.

July 30. I embarked myself for England.

Sept. 10. I landed at Dover and presented the Rt Honorable the Lords of the Committee for Trade with a Narrative of the estate of their country and government, and exhibited articles of high Misdemeanor against the Governor and Company.

1678,† Dec. 20. Two agents arrived in England from Boston to make their defence. I attended two years and made good my charge against the Governor and Company at the Council Chamber. The agents confess the fact, pray his Majesty's pardon, and acknowledge his Majesty's right to the Government of the Province of N. Hampshire.

1679, Sept. 10. The Boston agents have leave to return and new agents to be sent with full power.

Oct. 23. I was commanded to go for N. England by way of N.

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\* "Jan. 20 (1685-6). I and my family embarked upon the Rose frigate for N. England. May 14, 1686, I arrived at Boston with his Majesty's commission of Government to a President and Council." — *Randolph's Narrative*.

† This should be 1676. The agents, William Stoughton and Peter Bulkley, sailed for England, Oct. 30, 1676, and probably arrived in England, December 20, the month and day given by Randolph. They remained in England nearly three years, or till the autumn of 1679, when they obtained leave to return home, and arrived at Boston, December 23 of that year. Randolph made his second visit to New England about the same time, arriving in New York some two weeks before the agents arrived at Boston. — D.

York to carry over his Majesty's Commission of Government directed to a President and Council in New Hampshire.

29. I shipped all my goods and household stuff of a considerable value upon a vessel belonging to N. England and are all lost at sea, together with his late Majesty's picture and royal arms sent to N. Hampshire.

*Dec.* 7. I arrived to N. York and travelled by land from thence to New Hampshire in the winter, nigh four hundred miles.

27. I arrived at N. Hampshire and after great Opposition made by the Bostoneers settled his [Majesty's] Government in that Province.

*Jan.* 15. His Majesty's Government declared and owned in the Province of New Hampshire.

28. I returned from N. Hampshire to Boston impowered by the Commissioners of his Majesty's Customs to prevent the irregular trade. I seized several of their vessels with their loading.

1680.\* His Majesty's authority and the Acts of Trade disowned openly in their courts and I was cast in all these causes and damage given against his Majesty.

*March* 15. Having complained hereof I returned to England and obtained his Majesty's Letters Patents to be Collector, &c., of his Majesty's Customs in New England.†

1681, *May* 20. The Rt Honorable the Lords of the Committee for Trade report to his Majesty that in consideration of my good service I ought to have a hundred pounds annually added to my former salary of one hundred pounds but his Majesty's service requiring my speedy return to N. England I was dispatched away and that addition not settled.

*Dec.* 17. I arrived again at Boston in N. England with his Majesty's Commission appointing me Collector, &c., but that Commission is opposed, being looked upon as an encroachment on their Charter.

*Mar.* 10. A law revived by the Assembly to try me for my life and for acting by his Majesty's Commission before it was allowed by them.

1682. His Majesty's Commission not allowed to be read openly in Courts. My Deputies and under officers imprisoned for acting by virtue of his Majesty's Commission.

*Aug.* 20. Other agents from Boston arrived in England.‡

*Sept.* 20. Boston agents appearing are directed to procure larger powers.

*Dec.* 20. I received orders from the Lords of the Committee to

\* The date, 1680, prefixed to this entry, is intended to cover the year in which he experienced his adverse fortunes in our courts. He was in New Hampshire part of this time, on the same business, and was defendant in a cause tried there March 23; and the Provincial Records of that province speak of his being there as late as Nov. 3, 1680. — D.

† It will be understood that Randolph's return to England at this time was in the year 1680–81, the year then beginning March 25. — D.

‡ These were Joseph Dudley and John Richards. They had a long passage of nearly twelve weeks. They were absent a little more than a year, arriving in Boston, on their return, Oct. 23, 1683. — D.

return to England to prosecute a *Quo Warranto* against the Boston Charter.

1683, *May* 28. I arrived in England.

*June* 13. I was ordered to attend the Attorney General with proofs of the charge against the Boston Government.

*July* 20. Ordered a *Quo Warranto* be brought against Boston Charter.

*Oct.* 17.\* I arrived in N. England served the *Quo Warranto*, published and dispersed two hundred of his Majesty's Declarations.

*Dec.* 14. I embarked myself for England, had a dangerous voyage, the vessel wrecked at sea, both her sides carried away in a storm, and all my goods lost.

*Feb.* 14. I arrived at Plymouth and was commanded to attend and prosecute the Boston Charter.

1684, *Oct.* 23. Judgment was entered up for his Majesty against the Boston Charter.

*Dec.* 20. I was ordered to prepare articles against the two colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut.

1685, *July* 15. The Attorney General ordered to issue out writs of *Quo Warranto* against the colony of Rhode Island, Connecticut, &c., and against the several proprietors of Maryland, Pennsylvania and East and West Jersey.

*Aug.* 15. I was directed to serve the *Quo Warrantos* upon my Lord Baltimore, Proprietor of Maryland and the Proprietor of East and West Jersey, and to serve the two writs upon the colonies of R. Island and Connecticut, all which I duly performed.

*Jan.* 20. I and my family embarked upon the *Rose* frigate for N. England.

1686, *May* 14. I arrived at Boston with his Majesty's Commission of Government to a President and Council.

Then the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, the Province of New Hampshire and Maine are brought under his Majesty's Government.

*May* 30. I served the writ of *Quo Warranto* upon the Governor and Company of Rhode Island.

*June* 12. I made a second journey to Rhode Island to receive the General Court's answer.

*July* 12. I served the writ of *Quo Warranto* upon the Governor

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\* There is an error in this date. The date first written in was December 20, or 26, and then the present date, after one or more alterations in the figures, was written over. The true date of Randolph's arrival in Boston at this time is October 26. In a letter of his to the king, in Mass. Archives, vol. cvi. p. 303, he says: "I landed at Boston, in New England, the 26th of October last, where the General Court of the Colony had sat about three weeks, but upon notice given them by their agents (who had arrived four days before me), that they might daily expect me with a writ of *Quo Warranto* against their Charter, the Assembly was dissolved three or four hours before I landed. The next morning I delivered to the Governor your Majesty's declarations with the summons, and copy of the *Quo Warranto*." In a letter of Randolph's to Hinckley, in 4 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. v. p. 93, dated "Boston, in N. England [Monday], Oct. 20, 1683," he says, "I arrived here Friday last," which would be the 25th. — D.

and Company of Connecticut above one hundred and fifty miles distant from Boston.

The Governor and Company of Rhode Island humbly submit to his Majesty and are by his Majesty's special order to his Excellency Sir Edmund Andros, Knt, united to this government.

*Dec. 28.* I received a second writ of *Quo Warranto* against Connecticut and was ordered to serve it.

*Dec. 30.* A second writ upon the Government of Connecticut is served upon the Government. They make their humble submission of themselves and Government to his Majesty.

1687, *Oct. 25.* His Excellency goes to Hartford the chief town in Connecticut and erects his Majesty's Government there, so that now the several colonies are united under his Majesty's immediate Government and authority, viz., the Massachusetts, New Plymouth, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and the Provinces of N. Hampshire Maine and Pemaquid, and the King's Province lying above seven hundred miles in length and above seven hundred miles upon the western sea.

The President called attention to the first volume of the "Memorial History of Boston," which numbers among its contributors many members of this Society.

Colonel T. W. HIGGINSON mentioned that a bridge over the Pemigewasset, at Plymouth, New Hampshire, was named in honor of Lafayette, "Pont (now corrupted to 'Point') Fayette."

Mr. DENNY mentioned, as an illustration of the vagueness of spelling in the first generations of New England, that the name of Moseley is spelt in eleven different ways in the volume of Dorchester Records lately published by the Record Commissioners.

## DECEMBER MEETING, 1880.

The regular monthly meeting of the Society was held in the Dowse Library, on Thursday, December 9, at 3 o'clock, P.M.; the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Librarian presented the usual report of accessions by gift to the Library since the last meeting.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter from the Rev. A. H. Quint, D.D., resigning membership on account of his removal to New Hampshire. In it Dr. Quint stated he had long been engaged in gathering materials for a History of New Hampshire, and also for a History of Dover in that State, both of which he was writing.

The President then spoke as follows:—

Our meeting this afternoon, Gentlemen, will have lost the attendance of more than one of those whose presence we may generally count upon, by reason of the Complimentary Concert at the Music Hall, which I should have been so glad to attend myself. Few things are more memorable in the recent history of Boston than the improvement which has been witnessed in musical entertainments and musical education. And to no one are we so much indebted for this improvement as to Mr. John S. Dwight, as a tribute to whom this afternoon's concert has been arranged, and who has devoted his time, his pen, and his rare accomplishments, for so many years past, to inspiring a just and discriminating taste for the art which ministers so greatly to the rational enjoyment and refined culture of a community. I am glad of an opportunity, in these few words, to give his name a place on our records as one eminently entitled to the grateful consideration, not only of those who take pleasure in good music, but of all who are interested in the advancement of whatever promotes the happiness and welfare of the people. As I was one of the Committee of Fifty by whom this testimonial concert was offered to Mr. Dwight, I may be pardoned for expressing my special disappointment at being prevented by my duties here from attending it.

Since our last monthly meeting more than one commemoration has taken place, of an historical character, which may

well be the subject of at least a passing allusion this afternoon, so that it may not fail of recognition in our records.

The celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the covenant and organization of the first Boston church, on the 18th ultimo, was an occasion of singular interest. Nothing could have been more impressive or more successful. The full account of it, with the Historical Discourses of the Rev. Dr. Rufus Ellis, and with the History of the Church by his son, cannot fail to form a volume of great attraction and value. The commemoration of the organization of the Wauertown church on that same 30th July, 1630, which was the result of a common and concerted religious movement, took place ten days afterwards, and furnished additional materials for the true understanding of what may be called the *origines sacre* of the Massachusetts Colony.

Some questions have been suggested by these occasions which may form a subject of historical inquiry at a future day, but I dare not attempt to deal with them myself, at present, if at all.

I must not omit to refer, also, to the great Wycliffe Commemoration on the 2d instant, at New York, where the American Bible Society celebrated the five hundredth anniversary of the first translation of the whole Bible into the English language by John Wycliffe, and where our corresponding member, the Rev. Dr. Richard S. Storrs, delivered one of his masterly orations.

The heroic life and devoted labors of Wycliffe are worthy of commemoration by the whole Protestant world. We of New England and of America owe our homage to his memory, though there was no New England and no America known to him. Dr. Storrs well said, in concluding his eloquent discourse, that "it is on the work accomplished by Wycliffe and those who followed that our liberties have been builded." The grandest monument in the world is that of Luther at Worms. I travelled many miles out of my way to see it, five or six years ago, and was richly rewarded. Tyndale, too, has a Memorial Chapel at Antwerp, to which I was privileged to make a humble contribution some years since. But I can conceive of a group on a single base, in the Central Park at New York, if not in some of our own squares, which should include Wycliffe and Tyndale, and Coverdale and Luther, and perhaps others, and bear witness that our own land is not unmindful of its indebtedness to those noble men, who shrank from no labors or perils in giving the Bible to the common people. Our country owes a monument somewhere to

Columbus, Cabot, and Vespuccius, who might well be combined on a single pedestal, and portray the Discovery of America. But next to that would well come a grand group of the Translators of the Bible, in which Wycliffe should have no second place.

Before concluding these introductory remarks, I desire to lay on the table, with a word of explanation, a copy of a little memoir of Henry Clay, which I prepared at least a year ago, at the request of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society. That Society is about publishing a memorial volume of some of their early Honorary Members, and they did me the honor to ask me to contribute some reminiscences of Mr. Clay. Mr. Adams, Mr. Deane, and others of our members, have also prepared memoirs for the same volume. My own contribution has been in type for many months, and I have a few separate copies for my own use, but I have not felt at liberty to use them until the volume should be forthcoming, as I understand it now is. I had almost forgotten that Mr. Clay was an Honorary Member of this Society also. He died in 1852, three years before I became President, having been elected in 1836, three years before I was a member, and while John Quincy Adams and Josiah Quincy, and others who had been associated with him in public life, were among our immediate members. I need not say that he was not an historian. But we have been accustomed to put on our honorary list, occasionally, those who make history as well as those who write it, — sometimes to add a laurel to their name, and sometimes to decorate our own roll. Mr. Clay was eminently an historical personage, and I shall be glad if this little sketch shall do something to illustrate his career and character.

The President then read a letter which he received a number of years ago from President Quincy, with regard to the supposed portrait of Rev. John Wilson, and which had escaped our files, and apparently been overlooked by Dr. Appleton when preparing the paper on this portrait printed in the Proceedings of this Society for September, 1867, pp. 39-47. Dr. Appleton, however, seems to have been aware of the most important fact stated in the letter, namely, that a former owner of the portrait married a granddaughter of Wilson.

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP,

*President of the Historical Society of Massachusetts.*

SIR, — I find that some doubt has been expressed concerning a portrait of the Rev. John Wilson, the first clergyman of Boston, now



in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, which many years since, at my instance, was presented to it. I deem it proper, therefore, to state to you, as President of that institution, that the portrait in question was carefully preserved from the earliest times, among his descendants in the Bromfield family, certainly for more than a century.

Edward Bromfield, who emigrated from Hampshire, in England, to Boston, in the year 1675, married in 1683 Mary Danforth, daughter of the Rev. Samuel Danforth, of Roxbury, and granddaughter of the Rev. John Wilson. At the death of Elizabeth Bromfield,\* in 1814, at the age of 75, this portrait was given by the late Hon. William Phillips, her nephew, at my request. Wishing that there may be no longer any doubt concerning the authenticity of that portrait, I have taken the liberty of stating you the above facts.

Respectfully yours, &c.,

JOSIAH QUINCY.

Boston, 19th May, 1857.

P. S. — I hope you will pardon me for venturing the suggestion of causing appropriate labels, with any short notice of the age, or time of life of the individual, preserved by each portrait, to be annexed to it. The value of every portrait is enhanced by such notice, provided it is affixed only to those of whom the portrait is known to be the resemblance. Every day's delay is increasing the chance of uncertainty. The expense must be trifling; a small piece of painted tin would be sufficient. When I was President of Harvard University I realized the inconvenience resulting from the ignorance of some of the portraits in Harvard Hall, and took measures to adopt the system here proposed, in that Hall, which has been continued to this day. I found that such notice was not only gratifying to visitors, but had the effect of inducing others to make like donations. Such attentions are gratifying to family pride and the affections of the human heart.

J. Q.

Mr. George Otto Trevelyan of London and Mr. Henry Adams of Washington were unanimously elected Corresponding Members.

Dr. GREEN called the attention of the Society to a paper in the possession of the Library, the gift of Mr. A. W. Lamson, comprising a list of the inhabitants of Boston who removed to Halifax in the spring of 1776, and containing many familiar names. It does not purport to be the original list, but is drawn up evidently with a good deal of care.

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\* Granddaughter of the first Edward Bromfield. It should be added that the gift of this portrait was announced at a quarterly meeting of the Society in January, 1799, "Portrait of John Wilson, first minister of Boston, from Henry Bromfield, Esq." *Proceedings*, vol. i. p. 124. — Eds.

*List of the inhabitants of Boston, who on the evacuation by the British, in March, 1776, removed to Halifax with the army. Taken from a paper in the handwriting of Walter Barrell.*

Lieutenant-Governor Oliver and servants . . . . .	6	Refugees.	
Council, &c.		Ashley, Joseph . . . . .	1
Peter Oliver and niece . . . . .	2	Andros, Barret . . . . .	1
Harrison Gray and family . . . . .	5	Atkinson, John, Merchant . . . . .	4
Timothy Ruggles and sons . . . . .	3	Atkins, Gibbs . . . . .	1
Foster Hutchinson and family . . . . .	18	Ayres, Eleanor . . . . .	3
Josiah Edson . . . . .	1	Allen, Ebenezer . . . . .	8
John Murray and family . . . . .	7	Bowes, William, Merchant . . . . .	4
Richard Lechmere . . . . .	12	Brinley, Thomas, Merchant . . . . .	3
John Erving . . . . .	9	Burton, Mary, Milliner . . . . .	2
Nathaniel Ray Thomas and son . . . . .	2	Bowen, John . . . . .	2
Abijah Willard and two sons . . . . .	3	Blair, John, Baker . . . . .	1
Daniel Leonard and family . . . . .	9	Bowman, Archibald, Auctioneer . . . . .	1
Nathaniel Hatch . . . . .	7	Broderick, John . . . . .	3
George Erving . . . . .	6	Butter, James . . . . .	2
Custom House.		Brown, Thomas, Merchant . . . . .	6
Henry Hulton . . . . .	12	Byles, Rev'd Doctor . . . . .	5
Charles Paxton . . . . .	6	Barnard, John . . . . .	1
Benjamin Hallowel . . . . .	7	Black, John . . . . .	7
Samuel Waterhouse, Secretary . . . . .	7	Baker, John, Jun'r . . . . .	1
James Porter, Comptroller Gen'l . . . . .	1	Badger, Rev'd Moses . . . . .	1
Walter Barrell, Inspector Gen'l . . . . .	6	Beath, Mary . . . . .	4
James Murray, Inspector . . . . .	7	Butler, Gillam . . . . .	1
William Woolen, Inspector . . . . .	2	Brandon, John . . . . .	2
Edward Winslow, Collector, Boston, . . . . .	1	Brattle, William . . . . .	2
Charles Dudley, Collector, Newport, . . . . .	2	Coffin, William . . . . .	2
George Meserve, Collector, Piscataq. . . . .	1	Cazneau, Andrew, Lawyer . . . . .	1
Robert Hallowel, Comptroller, Boston, . . . . .	6	Cednor, William . . . . .	1
Arthur Savage, Surveyor, &c. . . . .	6	Connor, Mrs. . . . .	2
Nathaniel Coffin, Cashier . . . . .	4	Cummins, A. and E. Milliners . . . . .	3
Ebenezer Bridgman, Tide Surveyor, . . . . .	8	Coffin, William, Jun'r, Merchant . . . . .	4
Nathaniel Taylor, Dep'y Naval Offi- cer . . . . .	2	Cutler, Ebenezer . . . . .	1
Samuel Mather, Clerk . . . . .	3	Campbel, William . . . . .	1
Samuel Lloyd, Clerk . . . . .	6	Caner, Rev'd Doctor . . . . .	1
Christopher Minot, Land Waiter . . . . .	1	Cook, Robert . . . . .	1
Ward Chipman, Clerk Sol. . . . .	1	Chandler, John, Esq'r . . . . .	1
Robert Bethel, Clerk Col. . . . .	1	Chandler, Rufus, Lawyer . . . . .	2
Skinner, Cookson, and Evans, Clerks, . . . . .	3	Chandler, Nathaniel . . . . .	1
James Barrick, Clerk Insp. . . . .	5	Chandler, William . . . . .	1
John Ciely, Tidesman . . . . .	4	Carver, Melzer . . . . .	1
John Sam Pettit, Tidesman . . . . .	6	Cooley, John . . . . .	4
John Selby, Clerk . . . . .	2	Courtney, Thomas . . . . .	11
Edward Mulhall, Tidesman . . . . .	1	Carr, Mrs. . . . .	3
Hammond Green, Tidesman . . . . .	1	Deblois Gilbert . . . . .	5
John Lewis, Tidesman . . . . .	6	Doyley, John . . . . .	4
Elkanah Cushman, Tidesman . . . . .	1	Dunlap, Daniel . . . . .	1
Edmund Dwyer, Messenger . . . . .	3	Danforth, Thomas . . . . .	1
Samuel Chadwel, Tidesman . . . . .	1	Dumaresq, Philip, Merchant . . . . .	8
Samuel Sparhawk, Clerk . . . . .	5	De Blois, Lewis . . . . .	3
Chandler, Land Waiter . . . . .	1	Duncan, Alexander . . . . .	1
Patterson, Land Waiter . . . . .	1	Doyley, Francis . . . . .	1
Isaac Messingham, Coxswain . . . . .	1	Dickenson, Nathaniel . . . . .	1
Owen Richard, Coxswain . . . . .	1	Draper, Margaret . . . . .	5
		Dougherty, Edward . . . . .	2
		Pechezzan, Adam . . . . .	7
		Duelly, William . . . . .	3

Emerson, John . . . . .	1	Lyde, Byefield . . . . .	5
Etter, Peter . . . . .	7	Leddel, Henry . . . . .	4
Fisher, Wilfree . . . . .	4	Laughton, Henry . . . . .	5
Foster, Thomas . . . . .	1	Lloyd, Henry . . . . .	10
Faneuil, Benjamin, <i>Merchant</i> . . . . .	3	Linkieter, Alexander . . . . .	4
Fitch, Samuel, <i>Lawyer</i> . . . . .	7	Lowe, Charles . . . . .	2
Foster, Edward, <i>Blacksmith</i> . . . . .	7	Loring, Joshua, Jun'r . . . . .	1
Full, Thomas . . . . .	5	Murray, William . . . . .	3
Foster, Edward, Jun'r . . . . .	5	Moody, John, Jun'r . . . . .	1
Forest, James . . . . .	7	McKown, John . . . . .	1
Flucker, Mrs. . . . .	6	McAlpine, William . . . . .	2
Gilbert, Thomas . . . . .	1	Moody, John . . . . .	4
Gallop, Antill . . . . .	1	McKown, John (of Boston) . . . . .	5
Gray, Andrew . . . . .	1	Macdonald, Dennis . . . . .	1
Gray, John . . . . .	3	Mackay, Mrs. . . . .	1
Goldsbury, Samuel . . . . .	3	Mitchelson, David . . . . .	2
Gardiner, Doctor Sylvester . . . . .	8	McNiel, Archibald . . . . .	13
Gridley, Benjamin . . . . .	1	Marston, Benjamin . . . . .	1
Grisson, Edmund . . . . .	2	Moore, John . . . . .	1
Gay, Martin . . . . .	3	Miller, John . . . . .	5
Gilbert, Samuel . . . . .	1	Mulcainy, Patrick . . . . .	4
Grozart, John . . . . .	1	MacKinstrey, Mrs. . . . .	12
Gray, Mary . . . . .	1	Morrison, John . . . . .	1
Green, Francis . . . . .	8	McMaster, Patrick and Daniel . . . . .	3
Greenwood, Samuel . . . . .	5	McMullen, Alexander . . . . .	1
Grant, James . . . . .	1	Mitchel, Thomas . . . . .	1
Griffith, Mrs. . . . .	3	Mills, ——— . . . . .	2
Gore, John . . . . .	3	McClintock, Nathan . . . . .	1
Griffin, Edmund . . . . .	4	Nevin, Lazarus and wife . . . . .	2
Hill, William . . . . .	17	O'Niel, Joseph . . . . .	4
Hallowel, Rebecca . . . . .	4	Oliver, William Sanford . . . . .	1
Hall, Luke . . . . .	1	Oliver, Doctor Peter . . . . .	1
Henderson, James . . . . .	5	Powel, John . . . . .	8
House, Joseph . . . . .	1	Phillips, Martha . . . . .	3
Hughes, Samuel . . . . .	1	Phipps, David . . . . .	11
Hooper, Jacob . . . . .	2	Pelham, Henry . . . . .	1
Hicks, ———, <i>Printer</i> . . . . .	1	Putnam, James . . . . .	7
Hurlston, Richard . . . . .	1	Paine, Samuel . . . . .	1
Holmes, Benjamin Mulberry . . . . .	11	Perkins, Nathaniel . . . . .	1
Hatch, Hawes . . . . .	1	Patterson, William . . . . .	3
Hale, Samuel . . . . .	1	Philipps, Ebenezer . . . . .	1
Hester, John . . . . .	6	Paddock, Adine . . . . .	9
Hutchinsen, Mrs. . . . .	7	Pollard, Benjamin . . . . .	1
Horn, Henry . . . . .	7	Patten, George . . . . .	3
Hefferson, Jane . . . . .	1	Perkins, William Lee . . . . .	4
Heath, William . . . . .	1	Price, Benjamin . . . . .	2
Jones, Mary . . . . .	6	Page, George . . . . .	1
Jarvis, Robert . . . . .	1	Rummer, Richard . . . . .	3
Inman, John . . . . .	3	Rogers, Jeremiah Dummer . . . . .	2
Joy, John . . . . .	8	Rogers, Samuel . . . . .	1
Ireland, John . . . . .	2	Richardson, Miss . . . . .	1
Jefferies, Doctor John . . . . .	6	Rose, Peter . . . . .	1
Johannot, Peter . . . . .	1	Read, Charles . . . . .	1
Jones, Mrs. . . . .	4	Ramage, John . . . . .	1
Knutter, Margaret . . . . .	4	Roath, Richard . . . . .	6
King, Edward and Samuel . . . . .	7	Rhodes, Henry . . . . .	5
Lazarus, Samuel . . . . .	1	Russell, Nathaniel . . . . .	3
Lovel, John, Sen'r . . . . .	5	Richards, Mrs. . . . .	3
Leonard, George . . . . .	9	Ruggles, John and Richard . . . . .	2
Liste, Mrs. . . . .	5	Smith, Henry . . . . .	6
Lillie, Theophilus . . . . .	4	Sullivan, George . . . . .	1
Lutwiche, Edward Goldston . . . . .	1	Serjeant, John . . . . .	1

Scot, Joseph . . . . .	3	Winslow, Isaac . . . . .	11
Simmonds, William . . . . .	3	Winslow, Pelham . . . . .	1
Stow, Edward . . . . .	4	Winslow, John . . . . .	4
Sterling, Elizabeth . . . . .	1	Winslow, Mrs. Hannah . . . . .	4
Sterling, Benjamin Ferdinand . . . . .	1	Winslow, Edward . . . . .	1
Simpson, John . . . . .	5	Williams, Seth . . . . .	1
Simpson, Jonathan, Jun'r . . . . .	2	Willis, David . . . . .	4
Semple, Robert . . . . .	4	Wittington, William . . . . .	3
Stayner, Abigail . . . . .	3	Warden, William . . . . .	2
Stearns, Jonathan . . . . .	1	Williams, Job . . . . .	1
Savage, Abraham . . . . .	1	Warren, Abraham . . . . .	1
Saltonstal, Leveret . . . . .	1	Willard, Abel . . . . .	4
Service, Robert . . . . .	5	Warden, Joseph . . . . .	3
Snelling, Jonathan . . . . .	6	Willard, Abijah . . . . .	1
Sullivan, Bartholemew . . . . .	2	Whiston, Obadiah . . . . .	3
Smith, Edward . . . . .	4	Wheelwright, Joseph . . . . .	1
Spooner, Ebenezer . . . . .	1	Winnet, John, Jun'r . . . . .	1
Selknig, James . . . . .	6	Wright, Daniel . . . . .	2
Scammel, Thomas . . . . .	1	Welsh, Peter . . . . .	1
Shepard, Joseph . . . . .	2	White, Gideon . . . . .	1
Thompson, James . . . . .	1	Wilson, Archibald . . . . .	1
Taylor, Mrs. . . . .	5	Welsh, James . . . . .	1
Terry, Zebedee . . . . .	1	Worral, Thomas Grooby . . . . .	5
Terry, William . . . . .	4		
Taylor, William . . . . .	2		

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Halifax, in 1776, was little more than a hamlet; at best, it was a miserable village, inhabited chiefly by fishermen. It was with difficulty such an accession to the stated population could be temporarily accommodated with shelter, fuel, and food; most of the houses were in a dilapidated state, letting in the bleak winds of the season through manifold chinks, hardly a room having ever known the luxury of being plastered. Whole families were more uncomfortably crowded together than they had been in the few store-ships which had transported them from Boston.

A few of these refugees remained in Halifax, to whom is principally attributable the early growth of that now extensive city into respectability; many settled in Shelburne and Parrtown, places which never attained the consequence which the British Government meant to give them. Some removed to England; and there are individuals from these several places of refuge who embraced the first favorable opportunity of returning to the happier land of their nativity.

For Mr. Samuel B. Barrell  
from his friend and kinsman,

THEODORE BARRELL.

SAUGERTIES, ULSTER COUNTY, NEW YORK, Aug. 16, 1841.

The Rev. Dr. ELLIS presented to the Library a photograph of the "Old Elm" taken upon a thin veneer of wood of the venerable tree, in behalf of the artist, Mr. Charles W. Spurr.

The President read an interesting letter from Mrs. Augusta Durnford of Montreal, Canada, a descendant of

Major Stephen Sewall, which was suggested by the publication of the Sewall Diary. Dr. Everett and Mr. A. T. Perkins discussed some heraldic questions connected with the subject of the letter, which was referred to the Committee on Publication of the Sewall Diary.

Mr. ELLIS AMES read a paper giving an account of the "Garrison mob" (of which he was an eyewitness) and of the writ upon which Mr. Garrison was arrested.\*

The Rev. Dr. LOTHROP communicated for the Proceedings a memoir of the late Hon. Nathan Hale, and the Rev. Dr. Quint communicated a memoir of the late General William H. Sumner, and Mr. Smith communicated a memoir of the late George R. Russell, LL.D., prepared by Mr. Theodore Lyman.

The President called attention to the subscription paper for a memorial to Sir Walter Raleigh, to be erected in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, on which were subscriptions to the amount of £150 from members of this Society and others, and which will remain open for further gifts until about Christmas.

Rev. Dr. LOTHROP gave some reminiscences of a visit to Richmond, Virginia, in 1841, and of what he heard there at that time, touching the debate and action of the Virginia Convention of 1829-30, on the Brodnax resolutions proposing prospective abolition of slavery in that State.

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\* See below, p. 340. — EDS.

MEMOIR  
OF  
HON. NATHAN HALE, LL.D.

BY SAMUEL K. LOTHROP

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HON. NATHAN HALE, LL.D., was born on the 16th of August, 1784, at Westhampton, Hampshire County, Massachusetts. His father, Rev. Enoch Hale, born in Coventry, Connecticut, a graduate of Yale College, studied divinity, and became pastor of the Congregational Church in Westhampton, where for more than fifty years he was honored and beloved for his Christian graces, his fidelity and usefulness in his office. His mother was Octavia Throop, eighth child of Rev. Benjamin Throop, of Bozrah, Connecticut, a descendant, according to family tradition, of Adrian, Lord Seroop, one of the regicides, and a woman of culture and of great force of character. Nathan was the oldest son of this union, and was honored by bearing the name of his father's brother, the patriot-martyr, Captain Nathan Hale, of Colonel Knowlton's regiment, who, at the request of his colonel, and in conformity to the earnest desire of the commander-in-chief, after the retreat from Long Island, conquered his repugnance to the office in the hope of being useful to his country, went in disguise within the British lines, and on his attempt to return, after obtaining most valuable information as to the condition and plans of the British army, was apprehended, carried before Sir William Howe, tried and condemned as a spy, and executed the next morning; the attendance of a clergyman being refused him, and letters that he had written to his relatives and others, being destroyed, in order, as the British provost-marshal said, "that the rebels might not know they had a man in their army who could die with so much firmness."\* Major André, whose fate was similar, while his purpose was

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\* This provost-marshal was named Cunningham, and was afterwards hung in England for forgery.

not so pure and noble, seeing that he was aiding and encouraging treason, has a monument in Westminster Abbey, and on the banks of the Hudson; but the grave of this patriot-martyr, Captain Nathan Hale, has no stone to mark it, no inscription to tell of his devotion and self-sacrifice. He has had one monument, however, reared to his honor and memory in the pure character and the eminently useful life of the nephew who bore his name, and, we may well believe, beneath his modesty, was proud of bearing it.

Nathan Hale was prepared for college by his father, who was an accomplished scholar, and for many years made the instruction of youth a part of his daily duties.\* He entered Williams College in 1800, graduated in 1804. The subject of his Commencement oration was "The Advance made in Civilization in the Last Fifty Years." After leaving college, he went to Troy, New York, and began to study law; but, before completing his preparations for the bar, he was invited to fill a vacancy which existed in the department of mathematical instruction in Phillips Academy, Exeter, New Hampshire, and accepting it, remained there from 1805 to 1810, when he removed to Boston, and completing his law studies in the office of Peter Oxenbridge Thacher, was admitted to the Suffolk bar before the completion of that year, or early in 1811. What influences led him originally to select the legal profession, or subsequently to retire from it, cannot now be clearly ascertained. His reputation at college, his call to Exeter, and much in his subsequent career, go to show that the strong bent of his mind was to mathematics, pure and applied, and that, had he given himself exclusively to civil engineering, he would have obtained a reputation before which that of some of the most eminent men in that profession of the present century would have paled.

As it was, he did not remain long a practitioner at the bar, though his private records at the time show ample evidence of his success. Of his ability and fidelity in whatever legal business was intrusted to him there can be no question; but he had not those qualities which are requisite to make a man eminent as an advocate in the courts and before juries, and it was perhaps the consciousness of this that led him to change his line of life, the field of his labors. During the three or four years he was at the bar, he was largely occupied, in connection with Mr. Henry D. Sedgwick, in editing the "Boston

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\* Among his pupils at one time was the half-breed Eliazur Williams, afterwards celebrated as claiming to be the Dauphin.



Weekly Messenger," a political and historical journal, the first weekly periodical in America published without advertisements, and depending for its support upon its political, historical, and literary interest and value. His editorship of the "Weekly Messenger" had already given Mr. Hale a good position and standing in the community of Boston, where he had newly come to reside. Much interest was therefore felt by many, when, early in 1814, Mr. Hale purchased the "Daily Advertiser," then and for some years later the only daily paper published in Boston; and on the 1st of March of that year that paper made its first appearance with the name of Nathan Hale as its responsible editor, and he began then that career of journalism to which he subsequently devoted his energies, and which placed and still retains his name high up among the respectable and most eminent of those who have made this department of life and labor the sphere of their activity. It is as a journalist that Mr. Hale presents his first claim to our gratitude and respect,—to our gratitude, for he did incalculable good in this community through his paper; to our respect, because, while singularly free from the faults which commonly mark the journalist, and firm against all the temptations that beset him, he elevated the office, enlarged the measure of its duties, increased its dignity and its power. He was the first to assume the responsibility of expressing editorial opinions upon events of public interest and importance. The late J. T. Buckingham, in his "Reminiscences," assures us that, up to this time, the editors collected and presented the news, and published articles on public, political, or social questions that were sent in for publication, but never, or very seldom, made comments of their own. Mr. Hale was the first to depart from this rule, and to have always an editorial column, in which, commonly briefly, but with singular clearness and force, he discussed political or other subjects in which the public were interested, and expressed his own opinions and convictions with an independence that in its strongest manifestations never violated courtesy or charity. Indeed, it may be truly said of Mr. Hale that no man ever brought to the editorship of a daily newspaper, or exhibited in the conduct of it, a nicer integrity, a more scrupulous conscientiousness, a more watchful and careful industry, a broader learning, or a larger amount of varied, accurate, and trustworthy information than he did. The daily newspaper has now become everywhere, but especially in this country, a mighty power, whose influence for good or evil is almost beyond calculation. One can hardly pronounce an unqualified

eulogy upon the daily press of this country. If it have great merits, it has great defects also. If it do great good, in some ways it does much mischief. If it be very smart, it is sometimes very unfair, not to say unscrupulous, and some of those connected with it, as editors, reporters, correspondents, &c., seem sometimes to have a limited and very inadequate conviction of the tremendous responsibility that attaches to their vocation. We ought to add, however, that the daily press is not the only guilty party in this respect; *that* but partakes of a characteristic too prevalent among us as a people. The general license of utterance among us has risen to the magnitude of a serious evil. In the pulpit, in the lyceum or lecture-room, in the political convention, in the reform association, in the chambers of state legislation and in the halls of Congress, and in all the walks of private life, there is a license of utterance that forgets Bacon's aphorism upon this subject, "Wise men are like well-bitted horses; they know passing well when to stop," and indicates the absence of any strong conviction of the responsibility that attaches to the deliberate expression of thought and opinion.

Mr. Hale had this conviction to the fullest extent, and in obedience to it he performed in the editorial chair an amount of careful, patient, painstaking labor which can be properly understood and appreciated only by those associated with him in the office, and familiar with his editorial habits. It was because he had this conviction and performed this labor that his paper was early designated as "the respectable daily," and that its columns stand now with nothing in them he could wish to blot, with no article breathing a flippant or malevolent spirit, or that can be considered *unjust* to the character, opinions, or conduct of any person or party. It is for this reason also that at this day the "Daily Advertiser" is considered the best authority for the past, and that if any one wishes to ascertain what was thought, said, or done in relation to something or anything of public interest forty or fifty years ago, he goes back to the files of the "Daily Advertiser," satisfied that he will find there the most accurate and trustworthy account of the matter, and that what Nathan Hale did not know or did not publish about it was not true, or not worth knowing.

Mr. Hale was more of a mathematician and civil engineer than is commonly the case with editors; and, interested in all mechanical operations, he became interested in those connected with his daily work and duties, and as he at once made an advance in the intellectual position and responsibilities of

an editor and his relations to the public, so he made an advance in the mechanical execution of his paper, was the first to use the power-press and other improvements, so that his paper, if it did not take precedence, was never behind any other in its mechanical execution, and the consequent satisfaction with which one could read it.

Meanwhile Mr. Hale devoted himself with singular fidelity to the intellectual character of his paper, furnished himself with various instrumentalities for making it interesting and instructive, and imported many foreign journals and newspapers to aid him in his work. "The Advertiser office," or Mr. Hale's library, was the first place in Boston, it is said, where complete files of the "London Times" and other important English, French, and German newspapers could be found. In the midst of this work, however, he found time for other literary employments, and for promoting the general improvement of the community. Among the gentlemen who instituted the "North American Review," and among those who a few years afterwards established the "Christian Examiner," Mr. Hale held a prominent place, and both by his pen, his experience, and his wise judgment aided both these periodicals in their early years. In 1825, from fresh surveys and original authorities, he prepared and published a map of New England, which has not yet lost its value and importance. In 1828 he published a pamphlet on the "Protective Policy of the United States," which was so able and instructive that it attracted much attention, not only in this country, but in Europe. He was a faithful worker also in the Massachusetts Historical Society. He became a member in 1820, and for twelve successive years, from 1824 to 1836, he was a faithful, laborious, and useful member of the Standing Committee. He was a member of the convention for the revision of the State Constitution in 1820, and among the few surviving members of that body who were returned thirty-three years afterwards to the convention for a similar revision in 1853, in both of which he served on important committees. He was early a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and in 1853 Harvard College acknowledged his merit, by conferring on him the honorary degree of LL.D.; and as a testimony, not simply to his accomplished scholarship, but to his varied and accurate information in things pertaining to the prosperity and progress of the community and the country, to his intelligent and devoted labors, and his high-toned character as a journalist, and to his remarkable powers of active practical usefulness, the honor conferred by

the college was most emphatically deserved. For nearly forty years, through the columns of the "Advertiser," Mr. Hale had been a power in this community, not simply in political, but in all matters affecting the prosperity of New England and the whole country, but especially in those more immediately connected with the growth and the well-being of the city of Boston, the increase and wise management of its beneficent institutions, and the health, comfort, and happiness of its inhabitants. Upon all subjects the "Advertiser" gave no "uncertain sound." It was not hasty, but it was sure. It bided its time, waited till it had gathered all its facts and was clear in all its principles and conclusions, and then its bugle-note rang out so clear and strong, so cheering and persuasive, that it aroused to efforts which carried forward to complete execution some of the wisest and best things it desired to have done. While there was a Federal party, the "Advertiser" was a Federalist journal; when and while there was a Whig party, the "Advertiser" was a Whig journal; and during the years that marked the decadence of the one and the rise of the other of these parties, the "era of good feeling" as it has been called, that embraced Mr. Monroe's administration, the "Advertiser" was found approving all that was good and opposing all that was wrong or unjust in the administration of public affairs by any party. In 1820 it gave the whole weight of its influence against the famous Missouri Compromise bill, and for the same reasons and upon the same principles, it opposed in later years the idea of "Squatter Sovereignty," so called, as embodied in the Nebraska bill, and in 1854 was the first journal to suggest the immediate free colonization of Kansas, an enterprise which the columns of the "Advertiser" did not a little to promote and render successful.

But in addition to the influence which his strong sense, his clear thought, and his wise, patriotic judgment enabled him to exert in the directions above mentioned, there are two things affecting the commercial growth and prosperity of this city and the daily comfort and happiness of its citizens, for which we are indebted to Nathan Hale more than to any other one man, and these are the building of our railroads, and the introduction of an abundant supply of pure water into our city. If we look at these two things, and their influence upon the growth of our city and the comfort of our people, we must admit that Mr. Hale, more, certainly as much, as any man, who has lived among us for the eighty years of the present century, is entitled, as a public benefac-

tor, to have a monument erected to his memory somewhere within the limits of our city. That city would not be the large, prosperous, beautiful, comfortable place it is to-day, if you strike out his influence, his labors, his hard work in relation to these two things, from 1826 to 1848. As a civil engineer, a man acquainted with mechanical laws and forces, Mr. Hale made himself complete master of every thing connected with the construction of railroads, — their cost, their capacity of transportation, and the probable results of the facilities of transportation which they would afford both for persons and merchandise. As a journalist who had a wonderful power of clear, strong, condensed, and conclusive statement, he put all this into the columns of his paper, "the respectable daily," day after day, month after month, year after year, if necessary, till at length the public mind was enlightened, aroused, and ready for action, and then, in accordance to the wishes of his fellow-citizens, he went to the Legislature, to the Senate, that there by his influence and his votes he might inaugurate, give legal form and body and power to the enterprise he had so ably advocated in his paper; and thus in 1831 "the Boston and Worcester" — the first railroad in New England on which steam power was used — was chartered. Mr. Hale, who had been from 1828 the acting and active chairman of the Massachusetts Board of Internal Improvements, was the first president of the Boston and Worcester Railroad Corporation, and for nineteen years was annually re-elected to that office. That road was the beginning of those long lines of railroads that now go out from and converge to this city, and but for the facilities for business and commercial enterprise and social intercourse they afford, Boston would never have reached its present dimensions; it might have fallen behind in the race of improvement, and become a fourth or fifth rate city.

"The railroads would have come!" Certainly, they would have come; we should have had them undoubtedly; but Mr. Hale accelerated their introduction by at least ten, perhaps twenty years, through the amount of various, accurate, detailed argument and information which he so constantly and persistently presented to the public in his paper. Indeed, so valuable and important, both as a civil engineer and as an editor, were Mr. Hale's services and influence in inaugurating our railroads, that if at the time of his pecuniary embarrassments, twenty years later, the corporations of the New England roads had contributed from their earnings a fortune amply adequate to place him in perfect ease, comfort, and

independence for the remainder of his life, it would have been nothing more than a just compensation for what he had done in opening — creating as it were — these new sources of wealth and prosperity.

It will be admitted, also, that while we owe much to others, we are indebted to Mr. Hale more than to any other one man for the labors, services, and influences that found their culmination in the introduction of an abundant supply of pure water into the city. We have become so accustomed to this daily blessing and comfort that we think little of it, and do not realize the difficulties that surrounded the enterprise in its initiation, or its importance and necessity as a work that must be done. We might have filled up the South Cove, the Back Bay, and the Neck flats, but without the healthful and copious streams that flow through and from the Cochituate water-pipes, the land thus made would never have been available for purposes of business or habitation; grand warehouses would never have been erected upon it, and many of the noble streets and splendid houses and healthful squares and parks and gardens, that now add so much to the beauty and grandeur of our city, would never have had an existence. And here again it was the combination of the civil engineer and the editor — the man of multiform practical knowledge, with power to state distinctly and enforce earnestly the results reached by his investigations — that gave Mr. Hale his commanding influence upon every point and question that arose in connection with this subject. "Where from? in what way? at what cost? can a sufficient supply of pure water be introduced into the city?" These questions were all discussed and clearly and forcibly presented by Mr. Hale in the columns of the "Advertiser." He was a member of every successive board of commissioners on the introduction of water into the city except one, and that one was a board of commissioners and civil engineers from other States, and Mr. Hale was not put on this because the express purpose of this commission was to sit in judgment upon Mr. Hale's plans, and decide whether they should be adopted or not. This commission approved of these plans, they were adopted and carried into execution, so that we may rightfully claim for Mr. Hale, both as journalist and civil engineer, the largest measure of influence in securing to us the blessing of the Cochituate water.

But while these two matters that have been mentioned may be regarded as the prominent public services of his life, that life was all useful and honorable. As a scholar and



literary man, as a journalist, a civil engineer, a man of large, varied, accurate knowledge, and comprehension of very many subjects, Mr. Hale, up to the declining health of the latter years of his life, was always active and useful. In 1854, when seventy years old, and after fifty years of incessant mental labor, his health failed, and a slight paralysis, from which he never absolutely recovered, diminished his physical vigor and affected somewhat, not the clearness of his thought or the soundness of his judgment, but the active play of his mind. He lived ten years after this, though largely retired from the world, with little or no active participation in its affairs, but receiving continually testimonies of the profound reverence and respect of his friends, an object of the tenderest assiduities and the most devoted affection of his family, to whom his unvarying cheerfulness, fortitude, and patience, the grand exhibition he made of a perfect submission and trust, endeared him more and more as his life approached its close. His death, calm, peaceful, and without pain, occurred on the 9th of February, 1863.

The marked feature in Mr. Hale's character, the controlling element in his life, was a singularly nice and delicate conscientiousness. Always, at all times, and in relation to all things, it seemed to be his strong desire and purpose to do perfect justice to everybody, and rather than fail in this, he would do injustice to himself, and forbear to press claims that might have been pressed much further than he was willing to urge them. This forbearance originated in his modesty, which was more than equal to his merit. No man who had such moral worth, intellectual power, and varied acquisitions, and had rendered such important services to his fellow-citizens, was ever so unassuming, unpretentious.

Mr. Everett, whose intimate relationship enabled him to judge, spoke the truth, when, at the meeting of the Historical Society, at which his death was noticed, he said, "I do not scruple to pronounce him, not only one of the best men I ever knew, but one of the persons possessed of the greatest amount of valuable knowledge, endowed with the largest capacity of usefulness, and yet covered with such a thick veil of modesty that there were few individuals whom a casual observer, unacquainted with his character, would have been more likely to pass unobserved." Yet there was no want of self-reliance in Mr. Hale. Beneath that modest, unassuming, diffident, and at times almost hesitating manner, he carried as bold and brave a heart, as firm and unwavering principles, as ever filled a human breast. No man could intimidate him



and nothing tempt him to do wrong, or to furnish the use of his columns for unworthy purposes. He was cheerful and buoyant, mild and serene, in temperament and disposition, and in the intercourse of domestic life and amid all the perplexities of business, none can remember a hasty, angry, or unkind word from his lips. His affections were as warm and tender as his principles were firm, and while he bore the misfortunes that came in his path with patient fortitude, it was not because he was indifferent, not because he did not feel them with a keen sensibility, but because there was a power within him greater than any thing outward. The basis of his character, the inspiration of his life, was a deep religious faith, the foundations of which were laid by parental instruction and culture in that beautiful village in the valley of the Connecticut where he was born, and the superstructure reared and made beautiful in its proportions by his own personal care and culture amid the turmoil of business and enterprise in a busy and growing city. It was this faith that made his active life useful and honorable, his declining years peaceful and dignified, till death came as a benediction to remove to a higher sphere one whose work was done and well done on earth; and over few graves more truly or more appropriately than over his could be inscribed that Scripture declaration, which is at the same time a rich inheritance, a blessed consolation, and a grand incentive to all survivors, "The memory of the just is blessed."

On coming to Boston in 1810, Mr. Hale became a worshipper and communicant at the church in Brattle Square, and at the time of the death of Mr. Amos Lawrence, he was chosen one of the deacons of the church, retaining the office for the remainder of his life.

In September, 1816, he married Sarah Preston Everett, sister of Edward Everett, who survived him a few years. They had eleven children, seven of whom viz.: Nathan, Sarah Everett, Lucretia Peabody, Edward Everett, Alexander, Charles, and Susan, survived the period of infancy and childhood, and four of whom are still living.

Mr. Hale was returned to the Legislature five years in all, — three as representative, from 1819 to 1822 inclusive, and two as senator, from 1828 to 1830 inclusive.

MEMOIR  
OF  
GEORGE ROBERT RUSSELL, LL.D.

BY THEODORE LYMAN.

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THE mother of Mr. Russell, Sylvia Ammidon, was of French origin. His father was Jonathan Russell, United States Minister to Sweden, and one of the Commissioners who negotiated the treaty of Ghent.

The subject of this notice was born in Providence, May 5, 1800; and there his early boyhood was passed. In February, 1814, he accompanied his father and Henry Clay to Ghent; and in the autumn, was sent to school in Paris. There he remained two years, during one of the most exciting periods in French history. In after years he liked to speak of the appearance of Napoleon and of the ever-changing scenes which had so impressed his boyish memory. Such anecdotes gave scope to his unusual powers of conversation and rare descriptive faculty. On his return to America, and after preparation at a private school and at Exeter Academy, he entered the Sophomore class of Brown College in 1818, and graduated in 1821. His chum and most intimate friend was Samuel G. Howe, whose character, then noted only for extreme restlessness, was destined to unfold those remarkable powers which rendered him a benefactor to his race.

In 1822 young Russell went to Philadelphia, and studied law with the celebrated advocate John Sergeant. Admitted to the bar, it took him but three weeks to make up his mind that the law was not for him. Brave by nature and fond of adventure, he chose rather to take counsel of Howe, who was then much excited by the Greek war for independence, in which he afterwards took part. South American freedom seemed to Mr. Russell of greater importance, and in 1825 he sailed for Lima, furnished with a letter of introduction to Bolivar. A near view of Spanish Americans cooled his

enthusiasm, and 1826 found him seeking his fortune in Canton. The great American merchant, John P. Cushing, was so struck by his intelligence and weight of character that he sent him on important business to Manila, where in 1828 he established the house of Russell & Sturgis. Trade prospered with him, so that in 1835 he was able to return to Boston with a sufficient fortune. He married in that year, Sarah, daughter of Robert G. Shaw.

With marriage, his career as a merchant ceased, and thenceforth he occupied himself with literature, and the employments of rural life, and with public cares.

He had a strong love for *belles lettres*, and was a good French and Spanish scholar. A contemporary writer says, "Mr. Russell was then noted for the richness and clearness of his style of composition. One notices these traits in the public addresses of his later life, as also the fine humor which sallied on almost every page, and made him one of the most agreeable of companions."

Among his compositions the chief were: "The Merchant," an essay given before the Phi Beta Kappa of Brown College; and addresses to the Norfolk Agricultural Society, the Rhode Island Society for the Encouragement of Domestic Industry, and the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association. He wrote also for the "Atlantic Monthly" a spirited account of the Hundred Days.

Mr. Russell had a fearless spirit, and possessed the traits that usually accompany supreme courage. His resentment against oppression or tyranny was quick and stern, but tempered by a generous and forgiving disposition. The impulses of his character naturally drove him from the Democratic party, in which he had been trained, and led him early to join those of the Whigs who were first known as Free Soilers, and who afterward founded the Republican party. The firmness and wisdom of his course brought him great praise, and so raised his credit that he would certainly have represented his district in Congress during the war of the Rebellion had not an attack of cerebral paralysis rendered him incapable of public duty. From this malady, which occurred in 1859, he never fully recovered. He died at Manchester, on the 5th of August, 1866.

Mr. Russell received the degree of LL.D. from Brown University in 1849, and was elected a member of the Historical Society in January, 1857.

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GEORGE ROBERT RUSSELL, LL.D.

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MEMOIR  
OF  
WILLIAM HYSLOP SUMNER.

BY ALONZO H. QUINT.

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WILLIAM HYSLOP SUMNER died Oct. 24, 1861, at his residence in Jamaica Plain.

He was born in Roxbury, Massachusetts, "on the night of July 4, 1780." He was son of Increase Sumner, afterward a Judge of the Supreme Court, and who died a few days after he had taken the oath of office for the third year as Governor of this State. The wife of Governor Sumner, and mother of William Hyslop Sumner, was Elizabeth, daughter of William Hyslop, a prominent and successful merchant of Boston.

The boyhood of William H. Sumner was passed in the Auchmuty house, corner of Washington and Cliff Streets, a fine mansion, built about 1761, which was confiscated in the time of the Revolution, and which was purchased by Governor Sumner, who died in that house. Mrs. Sumner continued to reside there until the year 1806, when she removed to Boston.

The subject of this memorial, on leaving the schools in Roxbury, was fitted for college in Phillips Academy, Andover, under the instruction of Ebenezer Pemberton, Abiel Abbot, and Mark Newman, — entering the academy in 1793. He graduated at Harvard College in 1799, shortly after the decease of his eminent father (which took place June 9), and this decease prevented the son from taking any public part in the exercises of Commencement. He entered the law office of Hon. John Davis, then district-attorney, and was admitted to the bar in 1802. He continued the practice of law until the year 1818, when his whole time began to be given to military duties.

In 1808, and for the next eleven years, he represented Boston in the lower branch of the State Legislature.

In 1806 he was *aide-de-camp* to Governor Strong, and again

from 1813 to 1816 inclusive, and held the same relation to Governor Brooks from 1816 to 1818. In 1818 he was appointed by Governor Brooks Adjutant-General; and he held that position, with the office of Quartermaster-General, for sixteen years, until, in 1834, he resigned the office. General Dearborn succeeded him.

General Sumner's services to the military of this State were extremely valuable. He had especial fitness and fondness for such work. In travel in Europe he gratified his taste in this particular, and acquired valuable information. He was intrusted also with some special duties. On the 10th of September, 1814, he was appointed by Governor Strong executive agent to "repair to the District of Maine, and promptly to provide every practicable means for the defence of that part of the State." On the same day, also, the Commissioners for sea-coast defence (Hon. David Cobb, Timothy Pickering, and John Brooks) confided to him their full power. The District of Maine was at that time invaded by the enemy. The unfortunate conflict between Governor Strong and the national Government, as to the precise right of the Government to call for troops, and the obligation of the State to answer the call, had resulted in leaving Massachusetts seriously exposed. The coast of Maine was especially in peril. Jealousies between officers were existing. The political controversies, in which Maine was strenuously opposed to the policy of Governor Strong, aggravated the evil. The *aide-de-camp*, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, was intrusted by the Governor and Commissioners with great power; particularly delicate, in view of the fact that officers of the rank of major-general were then in command, and that he had also to consult with, and co-operate with, United States officers. Colonel Sumner's duties called him to the navy yard at Kittery, Fort McClary, Wells, Kennebunk, Saco, Portland, Bath, and Wiscasset. Troops were stationed where needed, ammunition and supplies furnished, the credit of the State pledged, and exposed positions put in a state of defence. For the manner in which he had performed these duties Colonel Sumner received the expression of the entire approbation of the Governor and the Commissioners. In his "History of East Boston," an Appendix is given to his proceedings in this service, and a temperate and judicious statement of the grounds upon which Governor Strong refused to obey the calls of the national Government. Mr. Sumner's official relation to the Governor, and the many papers which he preserved, make his statements extremely valuable. The conflict of authority had not then



been passed upon by judicial decisions, and the view of Governor Strong, long since settled to be erroneous, was then sustained by successive Chief Justices of Massachusetts.

Massachusetts had, however, stationed State troops at some exposed points at the request of the national authorities. For the expenses of this the State claimed reimbursement. In 1816 Colonel Sumner was appointed State agent, with Hon. James Lloyd, to present these claims; but success was not then had.

Mr. Sumner held office as Adjutant-General under Governors Brooks, Eustis, Lincoln, and Davis. In November, 1826, he was appointed by the Secretary of War as a member of a board of army and militia officers, to report a plan of militia organization for the whole country, and also a system of cavalry tactics. Of this board Major-General Winfield Scott was president, and the other members (besides General Sumner) were Major-General Thomas Cadwallader, Adjutant-General Beverly Daniel of North Carolina, Lieutenant-Colonel (afterward Brigadier-General) Abraham Eustis, of the 4th U. S. Artillery, Lieutenant-Colonel (afterward President) Zachary Taylor, Lieutenant-Colonel E. Cutler, 3d U. S. Infantry, and Major Charles Nourse, U. S. A. The board sat in Washington and fulfilled the duties assigned.

General Sumner resided, while in Boston, after the decease of his mother (which took place Dec. 28, 1810), on Mount Vernon Street, which was known, however, till near the close of his residence there, as Sumner Street.

In 1834, on resigning his office, he removed from Boston, and eventually purchased, and occupied until his death, the fine estate overlooking large portions of Jamaica Plain. His resignation was greatly owing to the necessary absorption of his time by the great project he had early conceived of bringing the territory known as Noddle's Island, then occupied as pasturage, into settlement as East Boston. The account of his early plans, of his repeated attempts to obtain the co-operation of the several owners,—the title being in his mother's family,—and the final success, are minutely given in his "History of East Boston." For years acting—being an only son—as attorney for his mother, and trustee for his two sisters, the scrupulous honor with which he guarded their interests was itself an obstacle. It is needless, as well as impossible, to repeat the story of the settlement of East Boston. It was in December, 1831, that he succeeded in contracting for the purchase of one-half from other relatives,—one of his sisters and an uncle owning the other half,—the sister having ac-

quired her share by a division by lot, which General Sumner urged as the method which must satisfy all parties. The East Boston Company was incorporated March 25, 1833. General Sumner was the owner of one-fourth of the shares, and his sister of one-sixth. He was for many years President of the Company, and finally left its Executive Committee, on account of ill health, in 1850, when he was seventy years of age.

The broad and liberal plans, which resulted in such success as was witnessed in East Boston, were very greatly due to General Sumner. He had been familiar with the Island from his boyhood, it being a family inheritance. He had very early seen what it might become. Regularity and good width of streets, and the laying out of squares, were due greatly to his earnest advocacy. It was the project of his life to build a city where he had seen a mere pasture. His interest continued to the last. In 1852, while in Paris, he learned that a "Tree Association" had been formed, and he immediately gave two lots to that society, which brought over \$4,000 into its treasury. The Library Association also received his help, and ultimately received his own library. When the lands were being laid out, the former tenant was offered his choice of an acre of land if he would build a house upon it, and he at once refused the offer.

General Sumner's work, the "History of East Boston," contains the fullest details of the history of that place from the beginning of Massachusetts colonization. He traced the title carefully, having the help of important family papers. Whatever incidents could be found touching that island, he wove into his history. It is worth recording, that he availed himself of the valuable services of Mr. William B. Trask and Mr. Samuel Burnham, in making investigations and arranging materials under his dictation, but the work was his own. The superintendence of its printing, his severe ill-health obliged him to commit to a member of this Society.

It is, perhaps, an interesting coincidence that General Sumner, who planned and achieved the settlement on the eastern side of Boston, should have been chief-marshal of the procession which, July 2, 1821, attended the completion of the Mill Dam Avenue, the first road which opened the western side to occupation, and was the preliminary to the filling of the whole Back Bay.

General Sumner's other writings were not many. He prepared and had printed a genealogy of the Sumner family, with facts as to its English home; an account of an article of

furniture called the "Eliot Bureau"; and some interesting "Recollections of Washington's Visit to Boston" in 1789,—and in his old age he cherished the fact that he was one of the few living who had seen the Father of his Country. He described minutely the reception and the line of school children, of which he was one. These short articles were printed in the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register."

Four years before his death, and just as he was about to put his History to press, he was severely stricken with paralysis, and for a time was utterly unable even to speak. He continued physically helpless, though he recovered the power of speech; but for the last two years of his life he could, again, scarcely speak. He retained, however, the power of his naturally vigorous mind and memory, but died of the disease which had made him helpless for four years. He was a member of St. John's parish at Jamaica Plain, and earnest in its support.

General Sumner was elected a member of this Society, Dec. 10, 1857.

## JANUARY MEETING, 1881.

The monthly meeting was held in the Dowse Library, on Thursday afternoon, the 13th inst., at 3 o'clock; the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

After the reading of the record, the Librarian presented the usual report of accessions by gift to the Library since the last meeting, including the gift by Mr. Thomas Minns of a framed photograph of the First Church, taken on the occasion of the celebration of its two hundred and fiftieth anniversary. The tower is decorated with the British and American flags, with the inscription across them, "1630 to 1880," and the old pine-tree flag underneath.

The President read a note from Mr. George H. Allan, enclosing a photograph from a rare London reprint of Paul Revere's print of the Boston Massacre, the frame of which was formerly the property of Francis Rotch, Esq., one of the owners of the tea ships in 1773.

He then announced that the subscription to the memorial window to Sir Walter Raleigh, to be erected in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, now amounted to £203 15s. 2d., in addition to £100 subscribed by Americans in London.

The President stated that several interesting Revolutionary autographs had been offered for sale to the Society or otherwise, through William Goldsborough, Esq.; and the originals were exhibited, — among them one from Count de Pulaski, dated at Boston, July 26, 1777, — and also letters from Silas Deane, dated at Paris, May 29, 1777, and William Carmichael, written from Boston, March 17, 1777, introducing "Marq. la Fayette" and Baron de Kalb to General Tilghman. There was also a letter from Washington to Hon. Mr. Dumas, from Mt. Vernon, Oct. 3, 1785.

The President next laid before the Society some papers furnished by our Associate, General Palfrey, extracted from a blank book, containing about one hundred and fifty signatures of substantial North End Mechanics, who, during the war of 1812, agreed to assist Governor Strong against British invasion. The agreement was headed by Paul Revere, and signed by other leading men of the North End, numbering among them many persons who were the ancestors of some of our most prominent New England families. These

men were employed on Noddle's Island, building a fort which was called "Fort Strong." The boys from the public and private schools, who were able to assist, were allowed to be absent from school during school hours.

The President stated that the Committee on the names of towns and streets had held an informal meeting here, and that their recommendation was substantially incorporated by the Mayor into his recent address at the inauguration of the City Government.

The Rev. Dr. ELLIS called the attention of the Society to the syllabus of a projected Narrative and Critical History of America, on a similar plan to that pursued in the Memorial History of Boston, and to be under the editorship of Mr. Winsor. A project of like character was very dear to President Sparks in the last year of his life, and he had devised a scheme to procure and provide a complete history of America, in view of the multitude of public and school libraries which would exist in this country, and would require more copious and accurate sources of knowledge than are now accessible to them. It was

*Voted*, That the President and four others be a committee to advise with Mr. Winsor concerning the proposed work.

Dr. Ellis, and Messrs. Deane, Parkman, and Torrey were appointed the additional members of the committee.

Mr. PARKMAN communicated some early letters of Washington, which have much interest and value. These he placed at the disposal of the Society for printing, and they were referred to a committee consisting of Messrs. Lee, Goddard, and Warren, for publication, with the other letters of Washington already in our archives.

Mr. CHASE mentioned other unpublished letters of Washington, in a collection which includes the first draught of Mrs. Washington's reply to the vote of Congress proposing national obsequies for her husband.

The President then read the following Paper on the course pursued by some of the founders of the Massachusetts Colony toward the English Church:—

In some introductory remarks at our last monthly meeting, I observed that one or two interesting questions of an historical character had been suggested by the recent celebrations of the First Boston and Watertown Churches. I cannot pre-

tend to answer those questions satisfactorily for others, or even for myself. But I have been unwilling to let them be altogether forgotten, without offering some aids to their solution.

It has more than once been asked how it happened, or could have happened, that the Massachusetts Company, having addressed an affectionate farewell to their brethren of the Church of England, at the very last moment before they embarked for America, in which they spoke of themselves "as those who esteem it our honor to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our dear mother . . . ever acknowledging that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation we have received in her bosom, and sucked it from her breasts," should, immediately on their arrival, have practically ignored, or certainly disused, all the forms and ceremonies of that Church, and should have proceeded to institute a church or churches of their own.

It has sometimes, indeed, been inquired of me personally, how it was to be explained that Governor Winthrop, who had not only signed that farewell letter officially, and, as I think, written it himself, but had long been the patron of the little church at Groton, and presented to its living, should have made no reference to the Church of England on coming here, but should have united without delay in the organization of a church of an entirely different form of worship and of a wholly independent character.

Now let me say that few things are more to be regretted than the entire loss of Governor Winthrop's letters to his friends in England at this early period of Massachusetts history. We have, most fortunately, his letters to his wife and to his eldest son, who remained in England for a year and a half longer. These, however, were letters of affection and private business, and they deal but little with matters of public concern, either religious or civil.

But in his very first letter to his wife, dated at Charlestown on the 16th of July, 1630, he says to her, "The larger discourse of all things thou shalt receive from my brother Downing, which I must send by some of the last ships." Again, in his letter to his son, from Charlestown, 23d July, he says, "For the course of our voyage, and other occurrences, you shall understand them by a journal, which I send with my letters to your uncle D." And, in a subsequent part of the same long letter, he adds, "Take order that a copy of my Relation, &c., be sent to Sir Nath. Barnardiston, and my excuse for not writing to him and Sir Wm. Sprunge, with my

salutations to them both." Still again, in his letter to his son, from Charlestown, August 14, he says, "For our condition here, and our voyage hither, I wrote to you about a fortnight since, by Mr. Revel, but more fully in a journal and Relation, which I sent to your uncle Downing." Once more, in a letter to his son, of Sept. 9, 1630, he says, "I have written to your mother, and to your uncle Downing at large, of all things here, to which I must refer you, in regard of my much business and little leisure here." And, lastly, in a letter to his son, of March 28, 1631, he says, "I have written to your uncle D. concerning all our business, fearing you should be come away."

I might give other reasons for thinking that Emanuel Downing,—a lawyer of the Inner Temple in London,—who had married Governor Winthrop's sister, and who did not follow him to Massachusetts for seven or eight years after the transfer of the Government to New England, was the person to whom Winthrop communicated every thing concerning the early course of proceedings in the Colony. As late as March, 1636, I find Downing writing to the Governor: "I heartily thank you for your large information of the state of the Plantation. I was the other day with Secretary Coke, who told me that there hath not been a word of your Plantation at Council Board these many months past."

I have said all this to justify the expression of an opinion, that much of the inner policy of Governor Winthrop and the Massachusetts Company, at this early period, has been lost to our history by the disappearance of these letters to Downing. So convinced was I of the truth of this impression that, many years ago, during one of my visits to England, I made diligent efforts to discover whether any of Downing's papers, between 1629 and his coming over to New England in 1638, were still in existence; but without success. Could these "large discourses" and journals and Relations of Governor Winthrop, sent to Downing, be found, I have little doubt that some of the problems of our early political and ecclesiastical history might be solved.

These relations and journals, indeed, would exactly supply the deficiencies, and fill up the "large blanks," so often noted and regretted in the Governor's History of this early period, as we now have it in print, and which reach, with few exceptions, from the 17th of June to the beginning of December, 1630.\* He had no leisure for copying into his Diary what he had written to Downing.

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\* See Savage's Winthrop between these dates.



But, in default of such authentic materials, I venture to proceed with such conjectures as I have formed, from the facts which are known to us, in regard to the question which I have stated as the subject of this Paper.

There can be no doubt that Governor Winthrop, up to the time of his embarking on board the "Arbella,"—though never what would be called a High-Churchman,—was warmly attached to the Church of England, and was a communicant at the little parish church of Groton, of which he was the owner of the living, and to which he presented the Rev. William Leigh as late as 1626. There is a letter to him from the Rev. Henry Sands, a previous pastor of Groton, of earlier but uncertain date (*Life and Letters*, p. 169), which shows that he was much relied on in church affairs, and was consulted about the livings of Stoke Vicarage and Nayland, among others, and which entreated his endeavors, "in the affection which I know you bear to the Church of God, to look into it and help."

There is, also, a little autograph volume of his still extant, in my own possession, in which all the sermons which he heard on Sundays and on Prayer-Days, during a large part of 1627 and 1628, are carefully noted, with the names of the preachers, the texts of their discourses, and the various heads and arguments, carefully and copiously written out. Any one disposed for such an inquiry might obtain from this manuscript volume a good idea of the style of preaching in a quiet English parish at that period.

I may add that now and then we find pleasant evidence that the Governor did not forget the great days of the Church Calendar. In a letter of his to his wife, dated 19 December, 1623, when he was on his law circuit, and found that he was not likely to be at home at the approaching Christmas, he says: "I feare it wilbe towards the ende of next weeke before I shall returne; yet I pray thee let provisio be made, and all o' poore feasted, though I be from home, so I shalbe the lesse missed." (*Life and Letters*, vol. i. p. 403.\*)

It may not be forgotten, too, that the Governor begins the Journal, now commonly known as his "History of New England," on "Easter Monday, March 29" (1630), while his fleet was still "riding at the Cowes"; and that he thus associated the outset of the Massachusetts emigration—not without purpose, as I think—with the great church festival of the Resurrection. It is thus sufficiently clear that Winthrop, up to the last moment of his leaving England, was a member

of the English Church. How, then, did he so soon become — as he certainly did become — an American Congregationalist?

The first suggestion which occurs to me, in connection with this question, is that the English Church at that day was simply the Church of England; without a recognized pretension to any catholic or universal character. It was a State Church, whose forms and ceremonies were at the will of kings and parliaments and convocations summoned by the sovereign. It was a local, national Church, which during the previous century only had separated itself from the Church of Rome, and which had hardly yet acquired that fixed and settled condition, to the common mind, which would have led those who were leaving England as their home to feel that they necessarily, or even naturally, carried any obligations to that Church with them. They might love it ever so sincerely, but they were leaving it for a land where it had no existence, and their farewell letter was literally a letter "taking leave" of it.

In one of his "Answers to Objections," in the Paper entitled "Reasons to be considered for justifying the Undertakers of the intended Plantation in New England," Winthrop says, indeed: "Since Christ's time the Church is to be considered as universal without distinction of countries." But that phrase included the Church of Rome and "all other churches of Europe," and has no particular reference to the Church of England. In the same Paper he had previously said: "What can be a better work, and more honorable and worthy a Christian, than to help raise and support a *particular Church* while it is in the infancy?" and in his "Conclusions" he distinctly asserts his conviction that "the service of raising and upholding a *particular Church* is to be preferred before the bettering of some part of a Church already established." He adds, most significantly, "The members of that Church may be of more use to their mother Church here, than many of those whom she shall still keep in her own bosom."

It will be seen, too, by a letter of the Governor's (printed in his Life and Letters, vol. i. p. 354, and dated Oct. 27, 1629) that he had invited a special meeting of ministers on the 9th of November, in London, to consult in regard to church matters, saying that "we want hitherto able and sufficient ministers to join with us in the work," and adding: "The reasons whereof we find to be the conscience of the obligation by which they stand bound unto this Church for

the service in which most of them are employed at present." "The conscience of the obligation" was, of course, only a matter for ministers in orders. If, however, we could learn what was said and done at that meeting, and how far those who attended it advised that, by going to New England, ministers and people would be relieved and released from any obligations by which they seemed bound to the English Church, we should be wiser than we are now. But it is plain, from the words of the invitation, that such a release for ministers was the subject to be considered.

In Winthrop's letter to Dr. Gager, also, inviting him to come over as physician to the Company, he expressly speaks of "the work we are in hand with" as "the establishing a Church in New England." (Life and Letters, vol. i. p. 355.)

It would seem, from these expressions, that the Governor contemplated the establishment of a particular Church, distinct from the mother Church of England, though by no means necessarily or naturally in any opposition to it. How could it fail to be distinct, three thousand miles away from it, and those three thousand equal to ten times three thousand, in difficulty of communication, as compared with the present day! An attempt to stretch any practical Episcopal authority across the Atlantic, at that day, would not only have been futile in itself, but would have involved the New England churches in endless embarrassment and confusion. Confirmations, Consecrations, Orderings of Priests and Deacons, and every thing else dependent on Bishops, must have been postponed indefinitely. Should the Puritans have gone along without any religious Services,—“forsaking the assembling of themselves together” for the worship of God,—until such matters could be arranged and provided for, even had they been ever so willing for them? Such a suggestion is its own best answer. It is enough to say that there was a physical impossibility in any substantial subordination on one side, or any substantial supervision on the other.

*Opposuit natura.*

The Virginia colonists had, indeed, instituted a little church on the English model as early as 1607, with the services of the Prayer Book; and the historian Bancroft tells us that “the Church of England was confirmed as the Church of Virginia” in 1619. But the early experiences of that Colony in its Episcopal relations—so far as any account of them is to be found—are hardly at variance with the views I have suggested. Some idea of their difficulties may be formed from the letter of Governor Argall to the Virginia

Company, in 1617, requesting Sir Dudley Digges to obtain from the Archbishop a permit for Mr. Wickham, *who was not in orders*, to administer the Holy Communion, as the Rev. Alexander Whittaker had been drowned, and as there was no other person.\* The Archbishop's reply is not given; nor have I been able to turn to any other indication of Episcopal authority being invited or exercised in those early days of the Virginia Colony.

The earliest Paper in the Virginia volume of "Historical Collections relating to the American Colonial Church" is: The Instructions to Sir William Berkeley, in 1650 (from whom is not stated — probably from the Virginia Company), — "to be careful Almighty God be duly and daily served according to the form of religion established in the Church of England."† After 1650, there is no other Paper in that volume bearing an earlier date than 1679. Other evidences of Episcopal supervision in the Virginia Colonial Church at that day may perhaps be discovered. Otherwise, its history would seem to confirm the idea that distance and infrequency of communication rendered such supervision impracticable, even where it was desired and solicited.‡ It is plain that there was a necessity for much independent action, alike in civil and in religious affairs, both in Virginia and in New England.

Winthrop's idea of the Church, in the expression which I have quoted, must plainly have been conformable to that grand definition of it in one of the closing prayers of the Episcopal Communion Service: "The mystical body of thy Son, which is the blessed company of all faithful people." Indeed, there are at least five other phrases or designations in the English Prayer Book, with which the Governor must have been familiar, which obviously mean the same thing, and must be interpreted consistently with each other: "The Holy Catholick Church," in the Apostles' Creed; "One Catholick and Apostolick Church," in the Nicene Creed, "The Holy Church throughout all the World," in the "Te Deum"; "The Catholick Church," § in the Prayer for all

\* Neill's Virginia Company of London, p. 113.

† The accomplished editor of the volume (Bishop Perry of Iowa) says, in his Notes, that similar instructions were given to Sir Francis Wyat in 1621, and renewed on each subsequent appointment.

‡ Bishop Meade's "Article I," in his "Old Churches and Families of Virginia," is instructive on this point. He mentions that other prayers besides those in the Prayer Book were freely used there, and that there was an utter want of Episcopal supervision. He represents it as an attempt to carry on a Church without a Bishop.

§ This is changed, in the American Prayer Book, into "Thy Holy Church Universal."

Conditions of Men; and "Thy Holy Church Universal," in the Litany. There may be others, but they were all probably taken from the ancient Uses and Liturgies; and few persons, I imagine, at that day, would have limited the application of either of them exclusively to the Church of England. Nor would any one, I think, so limit them at this day.

Nor did such a Church depend for its existence or its continuance on any particular forms or ceremonies. Indeed, the very preface of the English Prayer Book, as originally published at the Restoration of Charles II., contains words which are full of significance on this subject: "The particular forms of Divine Worship, and the rites and ceremonies appointed to be used therein, being things in their own nature indifferent, and alterable, and so acknowledged; it is but reasonable, that upon weighty and important considerations, according to the various exigency of times and occasions, such changes and alterations should be made therein, as to those that are in place of authority should from time to time seem either necessary or expedient."

These very words were incorporated into the preface of our American Prayer Book in 1789, and were relied on as the justification of the changes which were adopted for the Episcopal Church in the United States. That preface, indeed, begins by the distinct assertion, that "it is a most invaluable part of that blessed liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, that in his worship different forms and usages may without offence be allowed, provided the substance of the Faith be kept entire." There will be no allegation that the Puritans did not keep entire the "substance of the Faith."

In the English preface "Of Ceremonies" it is also said, in conclusion: "And in these our doings we condemn no other nations, nor prescribe any thing but to our own people only; for we think it convenient that every country should use such ceremonies as they shall think best to the setting forth of God's honor and glory, and to the reducing of the people to a most perfect and godly living, without error or superstition; and that they should put away other things, which from time to time they perceive to be most abused, as in men's ordinances it often chanceth diversely in divers countries."

Such expressions as these, though thirty years later than the coming of the Massachusetts Colony, may not unreasonably be cited in illustration of the views of some, at least, of the English churchmen at an earlier period. They are plainly the very views which were held and acted on in New England. And this is distinctly set forth and main-

tained in "The Planter's Plea," — a tract generally ascribed to the Rev. John White, an eminent Puritan minister, known to history as "the Patriarch of Dorchester" (England), and published in London in 1630, in "manifestation of the causes moving such as have lately undertaken a Plantation in New-England:—for the satisfaction of those that question the lawfulness of the Action." This tract might well be reprinted in some volume of our own Collections, as an original, contemporaneous exposition of the motives and intentions of the Massachusetts colonists, both in their civil and religious relations.

And this brings me to a word or two about the Prayer Book. My friend, Dr. Geo. E. Ellis, one of our Vice-Presidents, was substantially correct in what he said, at the First Church Commemoration, in regard to the absence of any copies of the old English Prayer Book from the early inventories of the New England colonists, and to the fact that none of them were to be found at this day in any of our Historical or Antiquarian Libraries. It is true that I have two of them, which undoubtedly belonged to Governor Winthrop or his immediate family. One of them, however, is bound up with the old Family Bible of the Governor's father; and the other is bound up with a Greek Testament, and is the very one which was nibbled by the mice, and which gave the Governor occasion to revive an old superstition which may be traced as far back as the days of Cicero.\* But these are exceptional cases and hardly inconsistent with Dr. Ellis's statement. There are, however, two considerations which may serve to explain the rarity of the Prayer Book in New England at any early period.

In the first place, it may be doubted whether the Prayer Book was a very common book, even in Old England, at the time the Massachusetts Colony came over here. During the reign of Charles I., even up to the year 1642, — twelve years after Winthrop's arrival, — it is ascertained that there were printed in all 36 editions of the Prayer Book, but of these 22 were printed in folio and quarto, and were evidently for the use of churches, cathedrals, universities, and those who officiated in them. Twelve more of the editions were in octavo, — not the compact and portable size which would seem to have been suited to general, popular use; — while only two editions remain of the smaller and cheaper and more convenient sort which would be adapted to the common people. I may

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\* De Divinatione, lib. ii.

add that the smaller Prayer Book of those early days — if I may judge by the two copies in my own possession — was by no means easily used, or attractive as a manual. Some pages of it seem to be only a sort of index or directory of the Service. Thus, the Collects are all given in close sequence, but with only numerical references to the Epistles and Gospels.

It may safely be inferred, I think, that the Prayer Book could not have been commonly found in the homes of the great body of the population at that day, — even of those who could read, — and that the larger number listened to it in their churches, and, perhaps, had some of the octavo editions in their pews, or seats, rather than possessed it as a treasure of their own. And, indeed, if I have read aright the Bibliographer's Manual of Lowndes, as corrected and enlarged by Bohn, these old editions of the Prayer Book are almost as rare at this day in Old England as in New England. They are found in a few great libraries of universities or churches, and of course in the British Museum, and are occasionally sold at large prices. But the great mass of copies seems to have disappeared.

But, in the second place, it must not be forgotten that in 1644–45 the use of the Prayer Book in public and private was forbidden by law, and all copies of it were ordered to be delivered up, and heavy penalties imposed upon all offenders.\* It is quite supposable, to say the least, that the Massachusetts Puritans, who were so entirely in sympathy with the Commonwealth party in England, may have given up or got rid of their Prayer Books, also, at this time, if there were any here; and this might account for there being few or none left to the present day. This may have been the time when Governor Winthrop gave one of his copies to the library of Harvard College, as having no use for it himself. There was no Harvard College library, for him to give it to, much before this date.

I must not forget to allude to an important fact in connection with the general subject of this inquiry. It is well remembered that John and Samuel Browne, who had gone out to the Salem Plantation with high recommendations from the Governor and Company in London, and one or both of whom were designated to be of Endicott's Council, in 1629, were sent back to England by him for disturbing the peace of

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\* History of the Book of Common Prayer (p. 67), by Rev. Clement M. Butler, D.D., to whom, also, I am indebted for the statements about the early editions of the English Prayer Book.



the Plantation, and of the little Church there, by attempting to introduce the forms and prayers of the Episcopal Church. They must have brought their Prayer Books with them, and they probably carried them back again. Their case, as we know, was brought before the Massachusetts Company in London, and was referred to a committee for consideration. It happened that Governor Winthrop was on that committee, and he may have learned by that investigation that the Salem Plantation was not disposed for any Prayer Book service. The Puritans at Salem and the Pilgrims at Plymouth were of one mind on that matter, and they concurred in establishing Congregational forms. But while there is no report on the records from the committee to whom the case of the Brownes was referred, yet a letter of some sharpness and severity was addressed to Mr. Skelton and Mr. Higginson, the Salem ministers, and another letter to Endicott himself, which clearly indicate, or certainly imply, I think, that the Massachusetts Governor and Company in London, just before they transferred the Chief Government to New England, were by no means inclined to sanction or approve any positive proscription of the English Church or church service at Salem.

After their arrival here, too, a similar spirit was repeatedly manifested. There was at least a reverent caution in almost all their religious movements.

Thus, Roger Williams, we all remember, "refused to join with the congregation at Boston," in 1630-31, "because (as Winthrop expressly states) they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for having communion with the churches of England while they lived there."

And when, on the 27th of August, 1630 (old style), John Wilson was chosen Teacher, and Mr. Nowell an Elder, and Mr. Gager and Mr. Aspinwall, Deacons, of the First Boston Church, Governor Winthrop says in his Journal, "We used imposition of hands, but with this protestation by all, that it was only as a sign of election and confirmation, not of any intent that Mr. Wilson should renounce his ministry he received in England."

And still again, when the First Church Covenant was about to be formed, scruples were distinctly expressed and enjoined, as shown by the letters of Winslow and Fuller relating to it, about the election of church officers. "Not then intending rashly to proceed to the choice of officers;" this was their language.

It is true that George Phillips, the pastor of the Watertown Church, and a signer of the Farewell Letter, took a

different view at first. He had privately told Dr. Samuel Fuller, of Plymouth,—so writes Dr. Fuller to Governor Bradford,—“that if they will have him stand minister by that calling which he received from the prelates in England, he will leave them.” But our late President, Mr. Savage, in direct allusion to this statement, says emphatically: “*This was not the spirit of the first settlers of Massachusetts, until they had lived some years in the wilderness;*” “and I imagine (he adds) Phillips was overcome, by the persuasion of friends, to postpone the scruple he had communicated to the Plimouth Colonist.” \*

Nothing could be further from my purpose than to draw into doubt the immediate and hearty adoption of Congregational forms of worship by the founders of Massachusetts, as an historical fact; or to question Governor Winthrop's full share in their adoption. The only question is, in what spirit, and under what circumstances, they were adopted. And I have only desired to show that, at the outset, the churches of Massachusetts were organized in no hostile opposition to the Church of England, and in no spirit inconsistent with the affectionate farewell which was addressed by the Governor and Company to their brethren of that Church. Every thing in the character of that Paper, and of the men who signed it, assures me that it was no politic manifesto, to conceal or cover purposes and plans already formed; but an honest, affectionate expression of sincere feeling on leaving England. On their arrival here, they conformed at once to the condition of the Colony and the exigencies of Religion. In doing so, they renounced no previous convictions or relations. But Christianity was to them above all Churches, and the worship of God above all forms or ceremonies. Having adhered to the Church of England, as the best mode of worshipping God, while there,—they united in Congregational worship, as the best, and, as I think, the only mode, in which that worship could, under the circumstances, have been arranged and conducted here.

As time went on, and Laud and Wren and other Bishops pursued their persecuting policy towards all Non-Conformists, a different spirit could hardly fail to be developed. But of that I have nothing to say in this connection.

This Paper has been prepared somewhat cursorily, and I may find cause for additions or modifications hereafter.

In the mean time, I conclude it now, by presenting a letter

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\* Savage's Winthrop, edition 1853, p. 16, foot-note.

from Henry Jacie, the minister at Assington, near Groton, to John Winthrop, Jr., in 1630-31. A number of Jacie's letters have been printed among the "Winthrop Papers," and an account of him given in foot-notes.\* But this letter has never been printed, and may well have a place in our Proceedings.

*Rev. Henry Jacie to John Winthrop, Jr.*

DEARE S<sup>r</sup>, — How much am I endebted to you for yo<sup>r</sup> great paines & love, w<sup>ch</sup> hath endeared you yet more unto me: If I sh<sup>d</sup> heare it turnes to yo<sup>r</sup> hurt any way, I must needs sympathize w<sup>th</sup> you.

One or 2 Questions came not to my mind, w<sup>ch</sup> I would entfreat by you to be resolvd in, viz<sup>t</sup>. Seing such a cōpany of Christians have fore intended such a one to be their minister, & he to accept it, Whether in their fast they desire Gods directing in y<sup>r</sup> choise (when they have no other fit to be chosen) or its only for Gods blessing his paines, etc. Also, Whether they use imposition of hands, or by whom, & when. And whether any imposition on the Elder, & by whom, or on the Deacon.

Now, S<sup>r</sup>, since yo<sup>r</sup> going to York, I have found H. Kingsburies L<sup>r</sup> (w<sup>ch</sup> I could not light on), the bookes he desired me to procure him were these 3. 1. A Treatise of Faith. (I suppose The Doctrine of faith by Mr. Jo. Rogers would be as useful for him, & about the same price.) 2. Perkins Principles. 3. The Sweet Posie for Gods S<sup>r</sup>s (2<sup>d</sup> a peece, y<sup>e</sup> 1 ab<sup>t</sup> 8<sup>d</sup>). He writ I would pay for them. We shal be further indebted to you if you can procure y<sup>e</sup> Map, y<sup>e</sup> Pattents Copie, y<sup>e</sup> Model of Charity, (also what Oath is taken), Mr. Higginsons L<sup>r</sup>, & the Petition to our Ministers for praying for them, made at their going, w<sup>ch</sup> is in print. W<sup>ch</sup> of these you can best, w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>r</sup>, give to Mr. Overton, Stationer in Popes head Alley, my good friend, & receive money of him for them, or for writing (giving him this note,) that he may send them by York Carrier either to y<sup>e</sup> now L. Maiors, or to Mr. John Penrose, Attorney, for me. But I pray you resolve me those ques. now, (for I suppose you ar not gone frō York.) Remēber my kind respect & love to Mr. Downing, Mr. Rob<sup>t</sup> Gurdon w<sup>th</sup> Mrs. Gurdon & Mr. Edward Gurdon, and to Mr. Huison at London Stone, if you see him, (frō whom I have had L<sup>r</sup> though I have not seen him.) Also in Essex & Suffolk. I am now posted: The good Lord be w<sup>th</sup> you. Yor<sup>t</sup> in him.

HEN: JACIE.

I pray you Mr. Overton repay to this my friend what he hath laid out for me, & I shal see y<sup>t</sup> you be repaid, either as formerly, or by my bro. Thomas Jacie, Servant to Mr. Elwis in Drury lane, a litle beyond Qu<sup>a</sup> Street. And direct yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>r</sup> etc. for me, to be left w<sup>th</sup> the Lord Maior of York, for so is Mr. Hodshon now. I rec<sup>d</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>r</sup> & Cōpasses etc. rem<sup>t</sup> me kiudly to Mr. Peck. Yor<sup>t</sup>

H. JACIE.

\* Vol. i. 3d ser., and vol. vi. 4th ser., p. 452.

This note to Mr. Overton is sealed on the margin of the letter, which is addressed, "To the Worsh<sup>d</sup> John Winthrop, Esq. in York."

There is no date to the letter, but it was plainly written to the younger Winthrop before he came over to join his father in New England in 1631. It alludes to the elder Winthrop's discourse on board the "Arbella," under the title of "The Model of Charity," and to the Farewell Letter to the Church of England, under the title of "The Petition to our Ministers for praying for them, made at their going, which is in print." But it is mainly interesting as showing the eagerness of the Puritan ministers in England to ascertain the forms and modes adopted by the churches on this side of the ocean. There is unfortunately no answer extant.

Mr. SMITH, from the Committee on publishing the Proceedings, called attention to a new number containing the Proceedings from September to December, 1880. He also presented a Memoir of our late Associate, Robert M. Mason, by Robert C. Winthrop, Jr.

MEMOIR  
OF  
ROBERT M. MASON.

BY ROBERT C. WINTHROP, JR.

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ROBERT MEANS MASON was born in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Sept. 25, 1810, the sixth of the eight children of Jeremiah Mason, some time senator in Congress from New Hampshire, and generally regarded as the greatest lawyer of his day in New England. The family is of Connecticut stock, and Robert Mason was a descendant in the sixth generation from Major John Mason, a Puritan soldier, who had seen service in the Netherlands, and became well known in our early history as one of the pioneers of the Connecticut Colony, of which he was long Deputy-Governor, and famous for his prowess in the Pequot war.

His mother was Mary, daughter of Colonel Robert Means, of Amherst, New Hampshire, whose family came from Londonderry, in the north of Ireland. She was an admirable specimen of the New England matron of the old school, — pious, charitable, frugal, hospitable, exemplary in every relation of life, and respected by all who knew her. This description might serve as well for her son Robert, who was thought much to resemble his mother, and whose daily life bore the impress of her character and teachings.

The earliest record of his boyhood I find in a little volume of Akenside's poems, "Presented to R. M. Mason for his uniform good conduct and diligent attention to his studies at the Portsmouth Academy, during the quarter ending Aug. 26, 1825." Inscriptions on school and college prizes are apt to be conventional and perfunctory, but the language applied to Robert Mason at fourteen never ceased to be peculiarly applicable to him. "Uniform good conduct," and "diligent attention" to whatever he undertook, were his prominent characteristics throughout life.









R. M. Mason.



From the Portsmouth Academy he was sent to the Gardiner Lyceum at Gardiner, Maine, which then enjoyed a high reputation as a preparatory school. The late Robert Hallowell Gardiner, writing to his friend Jeremiah Mason in the autumn of 1826, says, "I have made frequent inquiries of your son Robert's instructors, and have always been told he was industrious, attentive to his studies, and perfectly correct in his deportment. He passed a very good examination, and we are all interested in him." Here he was led seriously to consider the choice of a profession. His eldest brother, George, had taken a degree at Bowdoin College and was assisting his father at the bar. The next brother, Alfred, also a graduate of Bowdoin and a young physician of singular promise, was soon to fall a victim to his devotion to his patients and die of malignant fever in a New York hospital. The third brother, James, was a rising merchant, and Charles, the youngest, subsequently became a clergyman. Robert decided that his vocation was for mercantile, rather than for professional life, and, reluctantly abandoning all thought of a university degree, in August, 1827, he became clerk to his brother James in Boston. Here he remained nearly two years, when, desirous of obtaining a larger experience of trade, he procured, in 1829, through the influence of the merchant-prince and philanthropist, Amos Lawrence, who had married his mother's sister, a position as salaried clerk in the house of Hacker, Brown, & Co., of Philadelphia. The senior partner of that house, writing Hon. Jeremiah Mason under date of Nov. 16, 1829, says, "Since Robert has been with us his conduct and attention to business have been very satisfactory. We have not discovered that he is disposed to indulge in any thing his parents would not approve of, and we have seldom seen a youth of fairer promise."

Under date of Philadelphia, Feb. 27, 1831, he himself writes his father: "I have thought much lately of the probability of my going into business on my own account, when the time arrives at which any one who possesses any spirit of enterprise thinks it his duty to make exertions for his own support and for an honorable and useful standing in society. I think by next autumn I shall have had sufficient experience to undertake it, if a good opportunity and sufficient encouragement should offer." Six months later he removed from Philadelphia to New York, where, through the good offices of his brother James, he succeeded the latter as junior partner in the firm of Stone & Mason.

Under date of New York, Sept. 26, 1831, he writes his

father: "Yesterday was my birthday, important as completing my twenty-first year, but it did not cause me so much anxiety and thought as it might have done, had I not been so fortunate in my new arrangements. I already feel well acquainted with the business and shall use great exertions. It will be my ambition to observe your good counsels, and I hope there may never be any reason for my friends to think the advantages I have enjoyed have been abused. I will thank you to send me \$150, which I hope will be the last money I shall have occasion to ask of you."

Retiring from the firm of Stone, Swan, & Mason in the spring of 1836, Mr. Mason formed a copartnership with the late James W. Otis and his brother Alleyne, sons of Hon. Harrison Gray Otis, of Boston. For the five following years Otis & Mason were actively employed as New York agents of New England manufacturing companies, besides importing on their own account. They were not, however, uniformly successful, and the firm was dissolved by mutual consent in 1841, Mr. Mason continuing the business by himself. His long residence in New York, with the two previous years in Philadelphia, to say nothing of a vacation devoted to European travel in the summer of 1840, had afforded him many social advantages and won him some lifelong friendships; but the separation from those who were nearest and dearest to him was trying to his domestic nature. Each hurried visit to his parents and sisters only increased his desire to establish himself in Boston, which had become since 1832 the family home,—a home profoundly saddened by the loss of his brother James, who had died of fever within a few months of a happy marriage, leaving an exceptional reputation for business capacity, combined with many noble and attractive qualities.

This wish was gratified in 1843, when, in conjunction with his friend and near connection, Amos A. Lawrence, he founded the house of Mason & Lawrence of Boston, afterward so widely and so favorably known throughout the country. The 4th of December of the same year witnessed the crowning happiness of his life, his marriage with Miss Sarah Ellen Francis, youngest daughter of Ebenezer Francis, a leading merchant of Boston, and granddaughter of Colonel Ebenezer Francis of Beverly, a gallant soldier, who fell at the head of his regiment in one of the early actions of the Revolutionary war. Three years later appeared the first cloud on the horizon of a singularly prosperous life,—a cloud which, though sometimes brightening, ended by overshadowing it.

Mrs. Mason began to suffer acutely from asthma, and by the advice of physicians, she and her husband passed the greater part of the year 1847 in Europe, leaving two little children behind them.

Six months later his father, Jeremiah Mason, died, full of years and honors. This is not the place to pronounce the eulogy of one of whom Daniel Webster said that his career was "marked by uniform greatness, wisdom, and integrity"; and of whom Mr. Justice Story said that his "expositions of constitutional law are a monument of fame, far beyond the ordinary memorials of political and military glory"; and that "his life was adorned by consistent principles and filled up in the discharge of virtuous duty."

These were the glowing tributes of illustrious contemporaries to the jurist and the statesman; but the character of Jeremiah Mason in his domestic relations is sufficiently indicated by a single sentence in one of his early letters to his son Robert, when he says, "The proper education of our children has been, with your mother and me, the main and most important object of our lives."

For the ten following years Mr. Robert Mason's residence in Boston was interrupted only by the removal of his family in the summer months to Newport, in Rhode Island, a place to which he gradually became much attached, and where he had built a house overlooking the sea. It was the happy, uneventful life of a man assiduously devoted to his business interests, surrounded by an attached circle of relatives and friends, but never unmindful of the claims of religion and philanthropy, and always ready to unite in any undertaking calculated to promote the welfare of the community in which he lived. His religious convictions had become deepened by the loss of an only son in early childhood, and he began to manifest that zeal for the advancement of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, with which his name was afterwards so prominently associated. He took an active interest, also, in every thing relating to pauperism, and was one of the original promoters, and long the Treasurer, of the Boston Provident Association, — the first comprehensive scheme for the systematic registration and assistance of the deserving poor, and the detection of the numerous impostors who prey upon the charitable public.

The spring of 1858 witnessed the inevitable, but to him irreparable, loss of his aged mother, ever the object of his tenderest attachment. At his own death, twenty-one years after, a few lines were found within the cover of her minia-

ture by his bedside, which he had copied from a letter of the poet Gray, and which appeal with peculiar force to many a man:—

“I have discovered a thing very little known, which is that, in one’s whole life, one can never have more than a single mother. You may think this is obvious and a trite observation, yet I never discovered it, with full evidence and conviction, till it was too late. It was thirteen years ago, and seems but yesterday, and every day I live it sinks deeper into my heart.”

In the autumn of the same year the death of his wife’s father raised him from a position of moderate independence to one of considerable fortune. He was not indifferent to the possession of wealth, but he would have sacrificed it all, could he, by so doing, have arrested the slowly declining health of her to whom he owed it. Mrs. Mason’s physician advised a change of climate, and in April, 1859, he sailed for Europe with his family, and passed eighteen months in foreign travel, or at the various health-resorts of England and the Continent.

He had hardly landed in Liverpool before he was called to mourn a favorite sister; and, within a few weeks of his return home, his third daughter, a child of singular beauty of person and disposition, died after a short illness and in the apparent bloom of health. He bore this blow with Christian fortitude, but it was to him a lifelong sorrow, too deep for words.

The threatening aspect of public affairs, at this time, contributed to change the current of his thoughts, and the outbreak of civil war, in the spring of 1861, afforded him a welcome opportunity for the display of patriotic spirit. Mr. Mason was not one of those Americans who suddenly discovered their attachment to the National Union when it was seemingly approaching the very throes of dissolution. All his life he had loved his country, his whole country,—New England best, but with forbearance and good-will for other sections. The institution of domestic slavery was most repugnant to him, but he recognized it as an inheritance from the mother-country, protected by constitutional obligations for which North and South were alike responsible; and he looked forward with confidence to a period, however remote, when the great preponderance of the free States should induce the South to consent to some scheme of gradual emancipation, combined with liberal compensation. For a

systematic antislavery agitation, with its indiscriminate vituperation of Southern men and manners, its secret encouragement of slave-insurrection, and its incidental abuse of all who differed from it, he had no feeling but that of reprobation. His blood did not boil more fiercely at the news of the attack on Sumter than it had in former years, when, in his immediate neighborhood, influential pens had denounced the Union as "conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity," and had proclaimed the Constitution of our Fathers to be a "stupendous imposture," a "frightful despotism," a "league with death and a covenant with hell."

No one, however, was more ardent in the cause of maintaining an undivided republic and restoring the authority of the Federal Government over the seceding States. His age did not admit of personal service, but he gladly became Treasurer of the Massachusetts Soldiers' Fund, to which, as well as to the various other funds for the equipment of our soldiers and the alleviation of their sufferings, he was one of the earliest and largest contributors. Having recently purchased a more convenient house, and learning that the Government was unprepared to meet the pressing demand for hospital accommodation, he placed his former home, in Pemberton Square, at the disposal of the authorities. In the course of the three following years, more than 1,700 invalid soldiers were received and cared for in this mansion, Mr. Mason declining to accept any compensation save the thanks of the War Department, conveyed in a very complimentary letter from the Surgeon-General.

His wife's ill health again rendering a milder climate imperative, he most reluctantly returned to Europe in the autumn of 1861, and, with the exception of a hurried visit to America, by himself, in the spring of 1863, remained absent nearly five years, having in the mean time retired definitively from business. This protracted residence abroad was far from agreeable to him personally. He had exhausted the delight of foreign travel, and, though his tastes were cultivated, he had no engrossing love for music or for art; still less had he that thirst for aristocratic society which often afflicts his countrymen in Europe, and which his wealth and the foreign connections of his wife's family would have enabled him without difficulty to gratify. He preferred to exercise a graceful hospitality among his own people, and, though he grew to like some foreigners and was polite to all of them, there is little doubt that, in his secret soul, he considered native-born Americans a superior race. The possi-



bility that his children, growing up in Europe, might become weaned from their native land was sometimes a drop of wormwood in his cup.

His active and observant mind availed itself of unaccustomed leisure to study the institutions and the resources of other nations, but his thoughts reverted unceasingly to the internecine conflict going on at home. It was trying to be so far away at such a crisis, and to have his eager interest in federal campaigns dampened by the unsympathetic comments of an ill-informed or ill-disposed newspaper press. Probably no human countenance ever exhibited a more edifying picture of indignation struggling with Christian self-control than when, at an English watering-place, he was more than once mistaken for the Confederate Envoy, James M. Mason of Virginia, and felicitated on some recent signal disaster to the Union arms. So far as in him lay, he did his best to correct the false impressions prevailing in Europe as to the nature of the contest, and he had an interesting correspondence on the subject with the French statesman Montalembert, an English translation of whose pamphlet, "*La Victoire du Nord aux États-Unis*," was circulated at Mr. Mason's expense.

There was no personal or pecuniary sacrifice he would not have made to maintain the Union, but, while according a general support to the administration, and making every allowance for the difficulties which beset it, he was far from yielding an unthinking assent to every feature of its policy. His letters to his kinsmen and friends at this period were remarkable alike for their good sense and for their freedom from mere partisan considerations, as may be seen in the few following extracts:—

"You did not," he writes from Paris, in January, 1862, "at all realize the storm in Europe over the Trent affair. All foreigners united in regarding it a gross outrage which England must resent. No influence that the Southern Commissioners might have exerted on this side of the water could have been so favorable to their cause as this most imprudent violation of the rights of neutrals. It matters little that England has been guilty of acts of the same kind in former years. Before the news came, there was really the beginning of a better feeling towards us both in France and England; but this has thrown it back ten times worse than before. The English here protest they have the best disposition towards our country, but that we seek opportunities to insult them. They quote our newspapers as showing that the seizure of Mason and Slidell was exulted over as an annoyance to England, and they point to that ill-judged meeting in

Boston, at which mayor, governor, and judges assisted, and who really seem to have lost their heads. I think we have great cause of complaint against England. She is practically hostile to the North, and though she gives no direct material aid to the South, they have her sympathies and are recognized as belligerents, which is a great advantage to them. But, with a tremendous civil war on our hands, we should conciliate other nations. Seward and the Cabinet seemed at first willing to run the risk of plunging us into war with a power which could, at any moment, break our blockade and probably shut up all our ports. However fully the thing be now explained and disavowed, it will undoubtedly affect the public mind of England for a long time, and it has put a new face on our affairs, of which the South will not be slow to avail themselves. There seems to be a fatality about some of our blunders. What folly to publish the Adjutant-General's report of his visit to investigate the charges in the West! Why proclaim to all the world such details of a corruption and incapacity hardly equalled in military annals?"

"It is reported here," he writes a few weeks later, "that England has formally protested against the closing of Charleston harbor by sunken ships. If we must have trouble with England and France, I hope Congress will be active in making preparations,—build ships, man and arm the forts, and lay on heavier taxes, direct and indirect. It is of no use to go on in the way we are now, the country hardly feeling the war. The Northern States are easy and prosperous,—they can bear to be squeezed, and more especially contractors and those who have speculated on our needs. It is humiliating to have to admit it, but too many people, on both sides, are pecuniarily interested to have this contest continue. It is no less a fact that men of good standing are striving in every way to cheat and defraud the Government by outrageous contracts for necessary supplies. Such things should one day be exposed, and such men branded as public enemies. I am sorry to see any newspaper advocating the confiscation of the property of British subjects in case of war. Such suggestions do us injury abroad. No European nation has, I believe, ever done it, at least in this century."

November, 1862. "I am in hopes the exasperated condition of parties in New England and New York is only the usual prelude to an election, and that, when this is over, all will unite in the great business of the country. It is indispensable that there should be more unanimity in public sentiment. Partisan feeling must subside, or we shall be in danger of a revolution among ourselves. To what a wretched plight eighteen months have brought us! A currency depreciated forty per cent, an overwhelming debt, and no nearer the end of the war than we were at the outset; indeed, the present state of things shows a feeling of hostility to the administration which may well paralyze its efforts. We need some decided military success to convince European governments that we are really in earnest and mean to crush this Rebellion, cost what it may."

September, 1863. "The determination of the British Government

to stop the building of the iron-clads at Liverpool is very satisfactory, but it is a pity they did not reach this conclusion before the 'Alabama' and 'Florida' got out. It is strange that, with all our ships, we cannot catch these two rovers. The 'Florida' is now refitting in the harbor of Brest, but the French authorities refer all complaints and reclamations to the Confederate Government. France is now the power we have most to fear. Her position in Mexico disposes the Emperor towards a recognition of the South, but, unless he secures the co-operation of England, a war with us is probably more than he cares to undertake, especially since we have shown such improvements in our gunnery. The execution done by our artillery astonishes people here and in England."

September, 1864. "I have no expectation that the war is very soon to be brought to a close, and regard the peace rumors now so current as mere party tactics, which will cease with the result of the presidential election. No doubt both sides are heartily sick of it, and devoutly wish for its termination, but the pride and the sacrifices and the misery of the South will not yet suffer it to yield. The problems for us now to solve are our great debt, and the men and the money to continue the struggle. The Government should see that there is less waste and more accountability among its agents, civil and military. There has been far too much extravagance, public and private, great dishonesty, and a want of disinterested devotion to the public good. Men seem to forget their integrity and sacrifice their higher feelings to a spirit of gain, regardless of our great stake, the existence of the nation. At this distance, Lincoln's re-election looks doubtful, though something may well occur to turn the scales in his favor. His party have made many mistakes, among which I regard the measures of confiscation and emancipation as most injurious, in view of their retarding any approach to reconciliation and leaving the South nothing to hope for in the Union. A government loses moral respect by enacting laws which it is, for the time, at least, out of its power to enforce. McClellan's letter of acceptance was not calculated to give much satisfaction to the so-called Peace party. He is as strenuous as Lincoln for continuing the war until the South return to the Union. I think him honest and well-meaning, but I fear the influence of some of the men who nominated him. I should have preferred some one like Fillmore, some safe man of conservative views and large experience of public affairs, who could lead the country back to its proper place under the Constitution as it is, which is good enough for me."

May, 1865. "You will have read the manifestations of public indignation all over Europe at the atrocious murder of the President and the attempt on the life of the Secretary of State. The sympathy and kindly feeling are universal. The proceedings in Parliament, they say, are unprecedented, and the Queen's letter to Mrs. Lincoln touches the hearts of all. The conspirators have been insane enough to aim at the two most moderate men in the Government, those most disposed to conciliation and mild treatment of the South. I had no fear of the country falling into confusion. The last general election, conducted

in the midst of a great war and with very decided differences of opinion among our people, convinced me of the permanence and safety of our institutions. Indeed, the nation has of late carried itself nobly, whether in scenes of triumph or of sorrow. It is the admiration (though unwilling) of the world; so calm, so restrained, so submissive to law, in the midst of events calculated to rend it to its centre. It is the best possible demonstration of the strength of our Constitution and the conservative qualities of our people. I never was so well satisfied with both as I have been during the last twelve-month."

It would ill accord with the tastes of Mr. and Mrs. Mason to dwell upon their active benevolence, at home and abroad, at this period. It will be sufficient to allude to a single instance of it, which became a matter of public notoriety. Impressed with the deprivation which the high prices attendant upon the civil war had entailed upon persons of small, fixed incomes, and more particularly upon ministers of the gospel, they privately distributed, during the year 1865, no less than ten thousand dollars among the necessitous clergy of the Diocese of Massachusetts, — benefactions which, after his wife's death, Mr. Mason continued, from time to time, in a less degree. In a characteristic letter to the then Bishop of Massachusetts (Dr. Eastburn), who had undertaken to be, to some extent, the almoner of this fund, he said, "We strongly wish that no party bias be allowed to have any weight in the distribution, whether as to High and Low Church, or otherwise; but, as all are supposed to be good and faithful men, serving the church and the cause of their Divine Master as they conscientiously believe to be right, we would, forgetting all differences, have reference wholly to their needs."

During his residence in Europe he had experienced the grief of losing his two surviving brothers, but the condition of his wife's health gradually became less critical, and there was even reason to hope she might long be spared to the little circle to which she was so dear. Failing suddenly, however, at the last, she died at Dieppe, France, Sept. 27, 1865, in her forty-seventh year. In earlier life an ornament to society, it was given to her, in later years, to exhibit a touching example of patience under protracted suffering, of wise and discriminating charity, of unaffected Christian faith, and of a tender thought for others which ended only with her breath.

Early in the following spring her husband returned to Boston with his daughters, and permanently established him-

self in that well-known house, on the corner of Beacon and Walnut Streets, which he had long owned, but never occupied, and which he made, for the thirteen following years, the scene of a genial, unostentatious hospitality. His life had been one of great material prosperity, coupled with an unusual succession of domestic sorrows,—the last, but not the least, of which was yet to come. In the summer of 1868 his third surviving daughter, a young girl of an exceptionally affectionate and generous nature, died, after a short illness, in her fifteenth year. It required all his fortitude to bow with resignation before the Divine Will and still the murmurs of an aching heart. His grief found expression in the fulfillment of a long-contemplated design to build, in connection with the new Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge, a commodious chapel in memory of the loved ones who had gone before him, and especially in honor of his cherished wife and beloved brother, the late Dr. Charles Mason, one of the most eminent and useful of the clergy of this Diocese. This edifice, completed at a cost of eighty thousand dollars, and much admired for its architectural beauty, perpetuates alike the remembrance of his domestic virtues and of his interest in theological education, a cause of which, in other ways, he showed himself a liberal supporter.

Not long after, he employed his friend, the late George S. Hillard, to write a memoir of his father, Jeremiah Mason, and to assist him in editing selections from the latter's correspondence, which were privately printed in a sumptuous volume, containing various notices of different members of his family from Mr. Robert Mason's own pen. At an earlier period he had prepared, at the request of the publishers of Hunt's "Merchants' Magazine," an interesting sketch of the life of his father-in-law, Mr. Francis, which was afterwards reprinted in pamphlet form.

His remaining years glided by in the rational enjoyment of refined society and in the painstaking discharge of useful, though uneventful, duties. It was not in his nature to be idle, and whether at Boston in winter, or at Newport in summer, or in occasional sojourn at other places, he never failed to find congenial occupation in the minute supervision of his own affairs and in giving time and trouble to the interests of others. In the management of his own property and that of more than one important trust,—as a Director of the State Bank; as President of the Salmon Falls Manufacturing Company, and a Director of the Cocheco Company; as a member of the Standing Committee of the Diocese of Massa-

chusetts, and a delegate of that Diocese to the general convention of the church; as Chairman and Treasurer of the Finance Committee when that Convention met in Boston; as a Director of the Church Home for Orphan and Destitute Children,—an institution founded by his brother Charles and liberally remembered in his own will; as a visitor of the Theological School at Cambridge; as for many years Senior Warden of St. Paul's Church, Boston,—a post which became peculiarly irksome to him, and in which he continued only from a sense of duty,—in all these responsible relations and others too numerous to mention, he exhibited the same untiring industry, mature deliberation, wise counsel, and prudent action.

He had no ambition, even if he had possessed the means, to associate his name with costly endowments. His fortune was much curtailed by his wife's death, and there were scores of persons in New England richer than he. But while his liberality and public spirit were familiar to this community, and his readiness to respond to deserving appeals made him favorably known in distant States, yet the full extent of his private charities and of that innate goodness of heart, so often evinced towards those in trouble, or unfortunate, or needing temporary assistance, was suspected by few, and known only to himself and his Maker. It was no pleasure to him to give away money,—so far as his own inclination was concerned, he would much rather have accumulated and invested it;—nor was he benevolent in the restricted sense of aiding only objects in which he felt a direct interest, and turning a deaf ear to miscellaneous applications; his charities were on a higher plane, and were inspired only by the simple principle that to give proportionately of his substance and his increase was a duty he owed to God and his fellow-men.

His was no ideal character. Doubtless he had his share of human frailties, though they were not very apparent. He was tenacious of his own opinions and fond of having his own way, but he exercised a marked discretion in the expression of his preferences unless he felt himself entitled to urge them. Himself a man of the most exact and methodical habits, he was somewhat impatient of carelessness in others, and had a great dislike of extravagance and waste. With much contempt for show and serious misgiving at the rapid growth of luxury in America since the civil war, he enjoyed setting an example of simplicity of daily life in town and country, so far as it could be made consistent with a large

establishment and an overflowing hospitality. He was not a demonstrative person, and though no one could be more cordial to his intimates, he had yet a certain natural reserve of manner to the outer world, together with a reticence and occasional curtness of speech, which made him sometimes seem stern and peremptory, while at heart he was ever courteous, modest, and unassuming. Of the massive intellect and incisive wit of his father, there was little trace in his composition. He was fond of books without any pretensions to learning, a lover of intellectual society without being either brilliant or accomplished. Yet such was his reputation for scrupulous integrity, combined with singularly sound and accurate judgment, that few men were oftener applied to for advice in matters of moment, and the opinions of few men have better stood the test of time. He had cultivated with success not merely a habit of restraining the prevailing impulse to decide first and think afterwards, but an utter want of confidence in current rumors, and a total disbelief in any newspaper statement, unless it contained some intrinsic evidence, or became the subject of subsequent confirmation. This gave him a manifest advantage over many of his contemporaries, whose appreciation of events, foreign and domestic, apparently at the mercy of anonymous correspondents and sensational bulletins, often afforded him a mild amazement. Profoundly religious, he was by no means an ascetic; retained, to the last, an interest and pleasure in the amusements of young people; enjoyed a cigar and a glass of wine with his friends; and became a member of many clubs, among others the Friday Dinner Club, which included Judge Curtis, Felton, Ticknor, and Agassiz; and the Wednesday Evening Club, which has recently completed a century of continuous existence, and has numbered so many members of this Society.

His churchmanship was, like the general tone of his mind, conservative, but it was a conservatism which was neither reactionary nor intolerant. As in periods of political excitement, it never occurred to him, as it does to some good men, that those of a contrary opinion must of necessity be either knaves or fools, so no stress of theological controversy led him to pronounce tainted with heresy or idolatry those who differed from him as to forms of worship or interpretations of doctrine. He was singularly free from that besetting infirmity of religious minds, from which even Doctors of Divinity are not known to be wholly exempt,—that of sneering and carping at what they cannot sympathize in or approve. Profoundly attached to the great Anglican Communion in



which he had been educated, he was catholic enough to recognize a bond of fellowship, not merely with the great multitude of all who profess and call themselves Christians, but with the upright and devout of every creed; and he was Protestant enough to hold in especial reverence a Puritan ancestry, and to look with unfeigned alarm at what he could not help regarding as a tendency to an excessive sacerdotalism. Still less, however, was he in sympathy with the ideas of that progressive school, who, while retaining a sort of conventional allegiance to tradition, yet, in their zeal for the propagation of Christian unity, seem willing to obliterate so many ancient landmarks of the faith that their bewildered followers are sometimes found groping through mists of infidelity, or left to flounder in the quicksands of materialism. Indeed, he may be said to have belonged to what, by some mysterious dispensation, seems destined in our day to become an almost extinct type of churchman, — one whose regular attendance on public worship is not for the intellectual pleasure of listening to an eloquent preacher, nor to steep his senses in the charm of a glowing ritual, but is the conscientious discharge of duty to an Omnipotent and Omniscient Creator, however uninteresting the service and however dull the sermon.

Lastly, Mr. Mason was a thorough American, not merely loving, but honestly preferring, his own country, proud of her history, exulting in the development of her material resources, her educational advantages, and the intelligence and comfort of her toiling millions. If, in these latter days, the spread of municipal corruption and repeated evidences of a want of integrity in high places caused him some misgivings, he was wont to brush them indignantly aside and declare his unabated confidence in the future greatness of the republic.

Both his father and mother had attained fourscore, and, in his sixty-ninth winter, his tall, erect figure, ruddy complexion, and active step gave promise of years of continued usefulness and the tranquil enjoyment of a green old age. This was not to be. On the 3d of March, 1879, he left Boston, in his usual health, on a trip to Florida, undertaken partly for pleasure, partly for the benefit of one of his daughters, two of whom accompanied him. He took cold on the journey, and, on reaching Savannah, symptoms of pneumonia presented themselves. For several days the disease appeared to yield to treatment; but, in spite of the best medical attendance and devoted nursing, a change for the worse set in,

and he expired on the morning of the 13th. He had not realized the imminence of his danger, but when his condition was broken to him in his last hour, he displayed that calmness and resignation so characteristic of his life, stating that his affairs were in order, that he had no directions of any importance to give, and adding, "I am ready to go: I believe I am saved through my Redeemer, and I die in the Holy Catholic Faith."

A few days later, all that was mortal of him was laid beside his wife and children at Mount Auburn, the funeral being attended by a large assemblage, some of whom, including the venerable Bishop of New York (Dr. Potter), had come a long distance, at an inclement season, to testify their respect and affection for departed worth. The services took place in the chapel he had built at Cambridge, and which has become the subject of some lines by Longfellow, the first four of which may not inappropriately be quoted here:—

"I stand beneath the tree whose branches shade  
Thy western window, Chapel of St. John!  
And hear its leaves repeat their benison  
On him whose hands thy stones memorial laid."

On the Sunday after his death the Bishop of Massachusetts (Dr. Paddock), towards the close of an impressive sermon at St. Paul's Church, Boston, on the Characteristics of a Religion of Principle, said:—

"I stand in this pulpit to-day, dear brethren in Christ, heavily burdened, in common with you all, by the profound sense of loss which this church, the clergy of this city, our Diocese in its charities and missions, and many good causes elsewhere, now feel in the sudden departure of a man whose eminent characteristic was the religion of principle. Constitutionally averse to action on impulse, his convictions were slow of growth and sure of tenure, his feelings steadied and ordered by sober judgment, his deeds well pondered, right, and abiding.

"From an honored father, whose conscientious devotion to the true, the right, and the just made his name a monument in New England, the son learned no other than a religion of principle, and would have felt it a reproach to his name and nature to have accepted one of impulse or expediency. And his religion made him a just man and a devout, never boastful or headlong, but calm, wise, and courageous, taking counsel only of duty and of God."

The Bishop of Minnesota (Dr. Whipple), whose apostolic labors among the Indians, and whose eloquent pleas for their

protection, have made his name loved and respected in many lands, shortly after wrote : —

“I have read with interest the various newspaper tributes to Mr. Mason, but they do not, they cannot, tell the story. I have lost many noble and true friends, but no one who has left such an aching sense of great personal loss. I could not find words to tell you half that he has done to cheer and comfort and bless me in my careworn life. He was one of the purest and best men I ever knew. Intensely human in his pity for human sorrow and in his brotherly hand stretched out to help the weary, but free from those foibles and weaknesses which so belittle human character, he reminded me of our Lord's words, ‘Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no guile.’ Truly in him ‘the hoary head was a crown of glory, for it was always found in the way of righteousness.’”

Mr. Mason became a member of this Society in January, 1869, but he had learned to feel an interest in it from a much earlier period, his father, during his residence in New Hampshire, having been a Corresponding Member, and his brother, Dr. Charles Mason, a Resident Member. He was himself a frequent attendant at our meetings, rendered valuable service on the Building Committee, and more than once entertained the Society at his house.

Of his six children, three daughters survived him, one of whom is married and has issue.

## FEBRUARY MEETING, 1881.

The regular monthly meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 10th instant, the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary, the Rev. EDWARD G. PORTER was chosen Secretary *pro tem*. The record of the previous meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian, Dr. GREEN, read the list of gifts to the Library made since the last meeting.

The Cabinet-keeper, Dr. OLIVER, reported numerous donations, among which may be mentioned a view of St. Botolph's Church, Boston, England; an engraved portrait of the late Richard Frothingham; and a heliotype copy of a painting by N. Emmons (1728) of Andrew Oliver, Secretary of the Province. He also called the attention of the Society to a large copper-plate engraving (dedicated to Lieutenant-Governor Phipps) of the three college buildings standing at Cambridge in the first half of the last century, speaking as follows:—

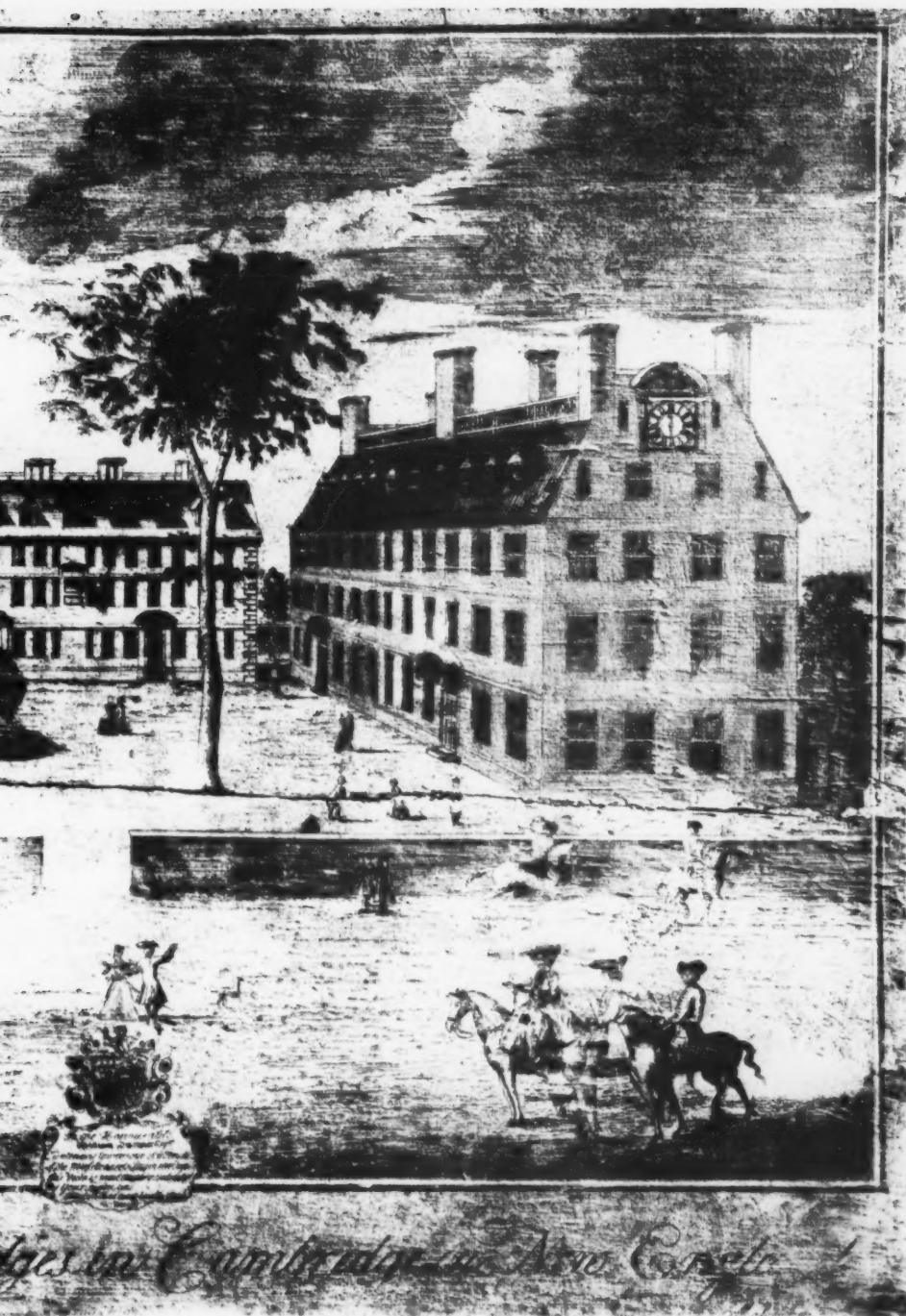
Among the larger engravings belonging to the Society's Cabinet is a view of the three buildings of Harvard College standing in the first half of the last century. This engraving, probably published late in 1739, or early in 1740, appears by the record to have been presented to the Society by Colonel William Scollay in 1795. It represents the three college buildings, Harvard, Stoughton, and Massachusetts, and is dedicated by W. Price to Spencer Phipps, at that time Lieutenant-Governor of the province. Near the centre of the square enclosed by the three buildings appears a large elm-tree, and in the street in the foreground is the chariot of the governor, with two officers on horseback in the act of saluting him as they pass. The students in the quadrangle are represented as wearing the academic gown. This engraving measures 24 by 18 inches in size, and in the right upper corner contains the following legend or inscription:—

“Harvard Colledge at Cambridge in N<sup>w</sup> England so called by ord<sup>r</sup> of the Gen<sup>l</sup> Court of y<sup>e</sup> Colony of the Mass<sup>ts</sup> Bay in honour to y<sup>e</sup> name of the R<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> John Harvard a Generous Benefactor to it, its a Corporation consist<sup>d</sup> of a President, five fellow[es] a Treasurer, with





*A Prospect of the College.*



Cambridge in New England





whom is entrusted all y<sup>e</sup> Government of it, the care of Educating the Students there, the Exer[cise] of Discipline, the Admission & Expulsion of y<sup>e</sup> Members of it &c. But a General Inspection of it is committed to a body of Men called Overseers who are y<sup>e</sup> Governour Deputy and all the Magistrates for the time being together with y<sup>e</sup> teaching Elders of Cambridge, Charlestown, Watertown, Boston Dorchester Roxbury and the President of the Colledge. It was founded by a Charter of y<sup>e</sup> above s<sup>d</sup> nature Anno 1650. which continued till y<sup>e</sup> Reign of James the second when it was vacated with the Charter of the Province, since which it hath but poorly subsisted on two other Charters, afterwards vacated, and at length after the year 1708, the first Charter was returned. This Colledge was at first raised by Publick donations, & private Gratuities amongst which none exceeds y<sup>e</sup> of the late Hon<sup>ble</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Stoughton Esq<sup>r</sup> about the year 1699. Since that the Province hath been at y<sup>e</sup> Expence of Additional Buildings to the Colledge, and of a Presidents House, hath from the Beginning given the President his salary, and may Continue & augment their Benefactions to it by whatever Taxes y<sup>e</sup> General Court pleases. The numb<sup>r</sup> of Graduates from the first Commencem<sup>t</sup> Anno 1642. to ye Anno 1739. is 1386.

"N<sup>o</sup> 1. built 1675. N<sup>o</sup> 2. built 1699. N<sup>o</sup> 3. built 1720."

The above engraving was upon panel, and had become so discolored by time that portions of it were almost undistinguishable, and the panel had also become much warped and cracked. In order to its reparation, it was taken from the panel and transferred to paper, and protected by frame and glass. On lifting it from the panel another engraving embracing the same view revealed itself, over which it had been laid, similar in character, but published at an earlier date. It is dedicated to Lieutenant-Governor Dummer, who went out of office in 1730, by William Burgis, and, as appears by the "Boston News Letter" of July 14, 1726, was first published on that day.\* No allusion is made to Burgis in the advertisement; but this is without doubt the print referred to.†

Although the later engraving was published fourteen years after Burgis's print, the two are so nearly alike in character and outline as to leave no doubt that they are from one and the same plate, that of Price having received such

\* This day published "A Prospect of the Colledges in Cambridge in New England, curiously engraved in Copper; and are to be sold at Mr Price's, print seller, over against the Town House, Mr Randall, Japanner in Ann Street, by Mr Stedman in Cambridge and the Booksellers of Boston." — *Boston News Letter*, July 14, 1726.

† The accompanying heliotype is taken from this engraving. The line through its centre represents a crack in the panel.

alterations and additions as circumstances seemed to require, including the inscription mentioned above. It measures a trifle less than the other in size, this difference being probably due to shrinkage occasioned by the more moist condition of the paper at the time of receiving the impression.

The earlier print thus unexpectedly brought to light has a special interest and value, as being the only known copy of one of the earliest impressions of the plate first published in 1726, preserving to us the form and lineaments of the three venerable halls then standing, — the earliest issue on which are delineated the architectural representatives of Harvard College.\*

Of these buildings, the oldest, Harvard Hall, was commenced in 1672.† The previous hall, or "Harvard College," as it was called, was built of wood, and in 1669 had shown such signs of decay that subscriptions were opened in many places for funds to build a new one.‡ The College was then very poor, and in a depressed condition. The foundation of the new building was laid three years later, and "a fair and stately edifice of brick," says Hubbard, "was erected anew not far from the place where the former stood." The Indian war delayed its completion, but in 1677 it was "so far finished that the public acts of the Commencement were there performed."§ It was completed in 1682.

Edward Randolph, who first came to New England in 1676, in a letter written in October of that year to the Lords of the Privy Council, says: "There are three colleges built in Cambridge, one with timber, at the charge of Mr. Harvard, and bears his name." This was the building to which we have referred above as then going to decay. Second, "a small brick building called the Indian College, where some few Indians did study; but now it is a printing house." This was a small brick edifice, thirty feet long by twenty feet wide, designed to accommodate some twenty Indian scholars. It was built in 1665, at the charge of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, at a cost of between three and four hundred pounds,|| — a benevolent, but an abortive

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\* The Wadsworth or President's House, now standing, was raised May 24, 1726, and was first occupied October 27, "when not half finished within." See Proceedings for September, 1872, p. 257.

† See Quincy's History of Harvard University, vol. i. p. 31. In preparing this notice of the old Harvard halls for the Proceedings, I have been kindly aided by some memoranda furnished by our Associate, Mr. Deane.

‡ Sibley's Graduates, pp. 330, 367; Belknap's New Hampshire, vol. i. p. 98.

§ Hubbard's History of New England, p. 610.

|| 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. vii. pp. 24, 25.

scheme so far as it related to the education of the Indian race. Third, "New College, built at the public charge, is a fair pile of brick building covered with tiles, by reason of the late Indian war not yet finished. It contains twenty chambers for students, two in a chamber; a large hall, which serves for a chapel; over that a convenient library, with some few of the ancient fathers and school divines, but in regard divinity is the general study, there are many English books of the late non-conformist writers, especially Mr. Baxter and Dr. Owen," &c.\*

This last building described by Randolph, — the oldest of the three in our picture, — called soon after it was erected, "New College," afterward took the name of its predecessor, "Harvard College." Cotton Mather, writing before 1697, in his "History of Harvard College," speaks of the contribution at this time for the wants of the Corporation, and says, "And this contribution . . . quickly produced a *New College*, wearing still the name of the *Old One*, which *Old One* is now so mouldered away that

— "Jam seges est ubi Troja fuit."†

The precise location of the first Harvard Hall is not known. Hubbard says that the new building was erected "not far from the place where the former stood."‡ The Harvard

\* Hutchinson Papers, p. 501.

† Magnalia, Book IV. p. 129.

‡ The following allusion to Cambridge is from the "Journal of a Voyage to New York and a Tour in several of the American Colonies, in 1679-80," by Dankers and Sluyter, printed in the "Memoirs of the L. I. Historical Society," vol. i. p. 384. The visit to Cambridge was on the 9th July, 1680.

"*9 Tuesday.* We started out to go to Cambridge, lying to the north-east of Boston, in order to see their college and printing office. We left about six o'clock in the morning, and were set across the river at Charlestown. We followed the road which we supposed was the right one, but went full half an hour out of the way, and would have gone still further, had not a negro who met us, and of whom we inquired, disabused us of our mistake. We went back to the right road, which is a very pleasant one. We reached Cambridge about eight o'clock. It is not a large village, and the houses stand very much apart. The college building is the most conspicuous among them. We went to it, expecting to see something curious, as it is the only college, or would-be academy of the Protestants, in all America, but we found ourselves mistaken. In approaching the house, we neither heard nor saw any thing mentionable; but going to the other side of the building, we heard noise enough in an upper room to lead my comrade to suppose they were engaged in disputation. We entered and went upstairs, when a person met us, and requested us to walk in, which we did. We found there eight or ten young fellows sitting around, smoking tobacco, with the smoke of which the room was so full that you could hardly see; and the whole house smelt so strong of it that when I was going upstairs, I said, 'This is certainly a tavern.' We excused ourselves that we could speak English only a little, but understood Dutch or French, which they did not. However, we

Hall in our picture was burned in 1764, and a new building, the present one, was erected the same year on the same spot.

Stoughton Hall was taken down in 1780, and no other building erected on the spot. The present Stoughton was built twenty-five years after the demolition of the former.

Massachusetts Hall is yet standing, and is the oldest of the college buildings.

Mr. Samuel A. Eliot, in his "History of Harvard College," published in 1848, gives a plan of the "College Enclosure" or yard, on which he indicates the "probable site of the Indian College," as at a short distance in the rear of the old President's House, now standing on Harvard Street.

In Quincy's "History of Harvard University," vol. i. p. 347, is a copy of this picture taken from one issued by Price, of which the College has a copy now very imperfect. On page 43 of the same volume is a picture of Harvard Hall by itself, restored, so to speak, by Miss Quincy, from the representation in this picture. There being no front view, and the architectural details being so minutely given at the end, she was able to turn the ancient edifice round and give a representation of it as it must have appeared in front.\*

The picture of Stoughton, on page 194 of the same volume, was also drawn by Miss Quincy, in order to give a better representation of the building than is afforded by the reduced copy of the whole picture.

The President read a communication from Mrs. Helen Bigelow Merriman, offering a thousand dollars to the Society as a memorial of her father, the late Erastus B. Bigelow, an

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spoke as well as we could. We inquired how many professors there were, and they replied, Not one, that there was no money to support one. We asked how many students there were. They said, at first, thirty, and then came down to twenty; I afterwards understood there are probably not ten. They could hardly speak a word of Latin, so that my comrade could not converse with them. They took us to the Library, where there was nothing particular. We looked over it a little. They presented us with a glass of wine. This is all we ascertained there. The minister of the place goes there morning and evening to make prayer, and has charge over them. The students have tutors or masters. Our visit was soon over, and we left them to go and look at the land about there. We found the place beautifully situated on a large plain, more than eight miles square, with a fine stream in the middle of it, capable of bearing heavily laden vessels. As regards the fertility of the soil, we consider the poorest in New York superior to the best here. As we were tired, we took a mouthful to eat, and left. We passed by the printing office, but there was nobody in it; the paper sash, however, being broken, we looked in, and saw two presses, with six or eight cases of type. There is not much work done there. Our printing office is well worth two of it, and even more."

\* Letter from Miss Quincy to Mr. Deane.

Associate Member, and proposed, with the concurrence of the Council, the following Resolution:—

*Resolved*, That the best thanks of the Massachusetts Historical Society be presented to Mrs. Helen Bigelow Merriman, for her generous contribution of a thousand dollars to our funds, and that the Treasurer be instructed, agreeably to her wish, to enter and keep the account of this gift, under the name of her distinguished and lamented father, as "The Erastus B. Bigelow Fund," and so to employ the interest of said sum, by accumulation for a time or otherwise, as shall be best for the welfare of the Society, and for doing honor to the memory of an Associate so highly esteemed and regretted by us all.

This Resolution was unanimously adopted.

The President then announced the deaths of one of our Corresponding Members and one of our foreign Honorary Members, both of them men of more than ordinary mark.

The death of Professor Diman (he said), at so early an age, is a serious loss to American history, and a sad one to his friends. He had shown remarkable ability, and remarkable candor, judgment, and accuracy in dealing with more than one historical topic, and had given promise of most valuable work in the future. His death is deeply lamented by us all.

The President then proceeded as follows:—

When recently, while at Washington, I saw the announcement of Carlyle's death, I felt that there was only one man in our Society, or perhaps anywhere on this side of the Atlantic, who could give authoritative and adequate expression to the views of his character and career which should follow such an announcement, and I wrote at once to Mr. Emerson to beg him to be with us this afternoon.

The interest which Carlyle had evinced in the life of Franklin, and in the English localities and associations of Franklin's ancestors, as shown in a letter from the great historian to Edward Everett, many years ago, induced us first to think of decorating our honorary roll with his name. But his grand biography of Cromwell, with all its admirable illustrations of the Puritan age, left us no excuse for failing to unite in doing honor to his great historical labors and triumphs.

Peculiarities of style, peculiarities of temper, more than doubtful views of our late struggle for the Union, have given

occasion to many differences of opinion, and many harshnesses of expression, from time to time, in regard to his merits. But now that the end has come, and that this remarkable thinker and writer, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, is going down to his grave this very afternoon, as the telegram informs us, — by the side of his wife, instead of claiming, as he might have done, a place in Westminster Abbey, — it will be universally agreed that one of the very most marked men of the age has disappeared, and we shall all be ready to speak of him, and think of him, and hear of him, as such.

I am now happy to call on Mr. Emerson, who has kindly complied with my invitation to be with us.

Mr. Ralph Waldo Emerson then read, from the original manuscript, a paper upon Thomas Carlyle, written immediately after seeing him in the year 1848: —

Thomas Carlyle is an immense talker, as extraordinary in his conversation as in his writing, — I think even more so.

He is not mainly a scholar, like the most of my acquaintances, but a practical Scotchman, such as you would find in any saddler's or iron-dealer's shop, and then only accidentally, and by a surprising addition, the admirable scholar and writer he is. If you would know precisely how he talks, just suppose Hugh Whelan (the gardener) had found leisure enough in addition to all his daily work to read Plato and Shakespeare, Augustine and Calvin, and, remaining Hugh Whelan all the time, should talk scornfully of all this nonsense of books that he had been bothered with, and you shall have just the tone and talk and laughter of Carlyle.

I called him a trip-hammer with "an Æolian attachment." He has, too, the strong religious tinge you sometimes find in burly people. That, and all his qualities, have a certain virulence, coupled though it be in his case with the utmost impatience of Christendom and Jewdom and all existing presentments of the good old story. He talks like a very unhappy man, — profoundly solitary, displeased and hindered by all men and things about him, and, biding his time, meditating how to undermine and explode the whole world of nonsense which torments him. He is obviously greatly respected by all sorts of people, understands his own value quite as well as Webster, of whom his behavior sometimes reminds me, and can see society on his own terms.

And, though no mortal in America could pretend to talk with Carlyle, who is also as remarkable in England as the



Tower of London, yet neither would he in any manner satisfy us (Americans), or begin to answer the questions which we ask. He is a very national figure, and would by no means bear transplantation. They keep Carlyle as a sort of portable cathedral-bell, which they like to produce in companies where he is unknown, and set a-swinging, to the surprise and consternation of all persons, — bishops, courtiers, scholars, writers, — and, as in companies here (in England) no man is named or introduced, great is the effect and great the inquiry. Forster of Rawdon described to me a dinner at the *table d'hôte* of some provincial hotel where he carried Carlyle, and where an Irish canon had uttered something. Carlyle began to talk, first to the waiters and then to the walls, and then, lastly, unmistakably to the priest, in a manner that frightened the whole company.

Young men, especially those holding liberal opinions, press to see him, but it strikes me like being hot to see the mathematical or Greek professor before they have got their lesson. It needs something more than a clean shirt and reading German to visit him. He treats them with contempt; they profess freedom, and he stands for slavery; they praise republics, and he likes the Russian Czar; they admire Cobden and free trade, and he is a protectionist in political economy; they will eat vegetables and drink water, and he is a Scotchman who thinks English national character has a pure enthusiasm for beef and mutton, — describes with gusto the crowds of people who gaze at the sirloins in the dealer's shop-window, and even likes the Scotch night-cap; they praise moral suasion, he goes for murder, money, capital punishment, and other pretty abominations of English law. They wish freedom of the press, and he thinks the first thing he would do, if he got into Parliament, would be to turn out the reporters, and stop all manner of mischievous speaking to Buncombe and wind-bags. "In the Long Parliament," he says, "the only great Parliament, they sat secret and silent, grave as an ecumenical council, and I know not what they would have done to anybody that had got in there, and attempted to tell out of doors what they did." They go for free institutions, for letting things alone, and only giving opportunity and motive to every man; he for a stringent government, that shows people what they must do, and makes them do it. "Here," he says, "the Parliament gathers up six millions of pounds every year to give to the poor, and yet the people starve. I think if they would give it to me, to provide the poor with labor, and with authority to make them work, or

shoot them, — and I to be hanged if I did not do it, — I could find them in plenty of Indian meal."

He throws himself readily on the other side. If you urge free trade, he remembers that every laborer is a monopolist. The navigation laws of England made its commerce. "St. John was insulted by the Dutch; he came home, got the law passed that foreign vessels should pay high fees, and it cut the throat of the Dutch, and made the English trade." If you boast of the growth of the country, and show him the wonderful results of the census, he finds nothing so depressing as the sight of a great mob. He saw once, as he told me, three or four miles of human beings, and fancied that "the airth was some great cheese, and these were mites." If a Tory takes heart at his hatred of stump oratory and model republics, he replies, "Yes, the idea of a pig-headed soldier who will obey orders, and fire on his own father at the command of his officer, is a great comfort to the aristocratic mind." It is not so much that Carlyle cares for this or that dogma, as that he likes genuineness (the source of all strength) in his companions.

If a scholar goes into a camp of lumbermen or a gang of riggers, those men will quickly detect any fault of character. Nothing will pass with them but what is real and sound. So this man is a hammer that crushes mediocrity and pretension. He detects weakness on the instant, and touches it. He has a vivacious, aggressive temperament, and unimpressible. The literary, the fashionable, the political man, each fresh from triumphs in his own sphere, comes eagerly to see this man, whose fun they have heartily enjoyed, sure of a welcome, and are struck with despair at the first onset. His firm, victorious, scoffing vituperation strikes them with chill and hesitation. His talk often reminds you of what was said of Johnson: "If his pistol missed fire he would knock you down with the butt-end."

Mere intellectual partisanship wearies him; he detects in an instant if a man stands for any cause to which he is not born and organically committed. A natural defender of any thing, a lover who will live and die for that which he speaks for, and who does not care for him, or for any thing but his own business, he respects; and the nobler this object, of course, the better. He hates a literary trifler, and if, after Guizot had been a tool of Louis Philippe for years, he is now to come and write essays on the character of Washington, on "The Beautiful," and on "Philosophy of History," he thinks that nothing.

Great is his reverence for realities, — for all such traits as spring from the intrinsic nature of the actor. He humors this into the idolatry of strength. A strong nature has a charm for him, previous, it would seem, to all inquiry whether the force be divine or diabolic. He preaches, as by cannonade, the doctrine that every noble nature was made by God, and contains, if savage passions, also fit checks and grand impulses, and, however extravagant, will keep its orbit and return from far.

Nor can that decorum which is the idol of the Englishman, and in attaining which the Englishman exceeds all nations, win from him any obeisance. He is eaten up with indignation against such as desire to make a fair show in the flesh.

Combined with this warfare on respectabilities, and, indeed, pointing all his satire, is the severity of his moral sentiment. In proportion to the peals of laughter amid which he strips the plumes of a pretender and shows the lean hypocrisy to every vantage of ridicule, does he worship whatever enthusiasm, fortitude, love, or other sign of a good nature is in a man.

There is nothing deeper in his constitution than his humor, than the considerate, condescending good-nature with which he looks at every object in existence, as a man might look at a mouse. He feels that the perfection of health is sportiveness, and will not look grave even at dulness or tragedy.

His guiding genius is his moral sense, his perception of the sole importance of truth and justice; but that is a truth of character, not of catechisms.

He says, "There is properly no religion in England. These idle nobles at Tattersall's, — there is no work or word of serious purpose in them; they have this great lying church; and life is a humbug." He prefers Cambridge to Oxford, but he thinks Oxford and Cambridge education indurates the young men, as the Styx hardened Achilles, so that when they come forth of them, they say, "Now we are proof; we have gone through all the degrees, and are case-hardened against the veracities of the Universe; nor man nor God can penetrate us."

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ious act which a man nowadays can securely perform is to wash himself well.

Of course the new French Revolution of 1848 was the best thing he had seen, and the teaching this great swindler, Louis Philippe, that there is a God's justice in the Universe, after all, was a great satisfaction. Czar Nicholas was his hero; for, in the ignominy of Europe, when all thrones fell like card-houses, and no man was found with conscience enough to fire a gun for his crown, but every one ran away in a *coucou*, with his head shaved, through the Barrière de Passy, one man remained who believed he was put there by God Almighty to govern his empire, and, by the help of God, had resolved to stand there.

He was very serious about the bad times; he had seen this evil coming, but thought it would not come in his time. But now 'tis coming, and the only good he sees in it is the visible appearance of the gods. He thinks it the only question for wise men, instead of art and fine fancies and poetry and such things, to address themselves to the problem of society. This confusion is the inevitable end of such falsehood and nonsense as they have been embroiled with.

Carlyle has, best of all men in England, kept the manly attitude in his time. He has stood for scholars, asking no scholar what he should say. Holding an honored place in the best society, he has stood for the people, for the Chartist,\* for the pauper, intrepidly and scornfully teaching the nobles their peremptory duties.

His errors of opinion are as nothing in comparison with this merit, in my judgment. This *aplomb* cannot be mimicked; it is the speaking to the heart of the thing. And in England, where the morgue of aristocracy has very slowly admitted scholars into society, — a very few houses only in the high circles being ever opened to them, — he has carried himself erect, made himself a power confessed by all men, and taught scholars their lofty duty. He never feared the face of man.

While Mr. Emerson was reading this interesting paper, with an occasional suggestion from his daughter, the members of the Society gathered eagerly about him and listened to his words with close attention; and when he had fin-

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\* The Chartists were then preparing to go in a procession of 200,000, to carry their petition, embodying the six points of Chartism, to the House of Commons, on the 10th of April, 1848.

ished, the expressions of applause were spontaneous and hearty.\*

The Rev. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE, D.D., then said : —

Those of us who are old enough to recollect the impression made on them by the early writings of Carlyle must have enjoyed the paper to which we have all listened with an additional interest, remembering how much Mr. Emerson did to introduce this author's works among us. One of them, "Sartor Resartus," was published in Boston, under Mr. Emerson's auspices, in a book form, when it had as yet only appeared in England in separate numbers in "Fraser's Magazine." It was in consequence of this that Carlyle, having occasion to make an extract from "Sartor," in a subsequent article, said, parenthetically, "I quote from a New England book." When Mr. Thomas Hughes was recently in this city, he told us that the first book given to him for his public library in the Rugby settlement, in Tennessee, was a copy of "Sartor Resartus." I said to Mr. Hughes, "There was a significance in the fact that your Anglo-American colony should have received this as its first volume. Your colony will at first consist of those who, born in England, find their home in America. This book of Carlyle's has the same history. It was born in England, and found its best hospitality here. Like your colony, it is an Anglo-American work."

With Mr. Emerson's permission, I will quote from memory a passage which I was allowed to read some forty years or more ago, in a letter written to him by Carlyle, in which he thus referred to Dr. Channing: "Do, at any rate, offer my respectful regards to Dr. Channing, whom certainly I could not count on for a reader, or other than as a grieved, condemnatory reader, — for I reckoned toleration had its limits. His own faithful, long-continued striving toward what is Best, I knew and honored; that he will let me go on my own way thitherward, with a God-speed from him, is surely a new honor to us both."

When the "French Revolution" appeared, Mr. Emerson had it reprinted here for the author's benefit. I sold a few copies for him in Kentucky, and, among others, one copy to

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\* At the request of our Corresponding Member, Dr. Holland, and with the permission of Mr. Emerson, this paper was printed in the May number of "Scribner's Magazine," in advance of the publication of this volume, with a note describing the scene by Dr. George E. Ellis. — Eds.



an old Frenchman, who had served under Napoleon. He was a plain man, and I was, therefore, surprised as well as pleased when he said, "It is the best history of our Revolution I have seen, and the only one that has made it perfectly intelligible to me."

Dr. WILLIAM EVERETT then gave an account of a visit to Carlyle some years ago; and Colonel HENRY LEE spoke briefly of the first publication of "Sartor Resartus," and of the interest which it excited in the young men then in Harvard College.

Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS referred as follows to the death of J. Lewis Diman, D.D., professor in Brown University, and a Corresponding Member of the Society: —

I regret that Professor Young, or some other of our associates who had shared a close intimacy with Professor Diman as a fellow-student at home or abroad, is not present with us to-day, to have the grateful privilege of speaking of him as his own beautiful character, and the grief felt by all who knew him over the sudden close of his life at its most vigorous period, might prompt. Professor Diman has been for just eight years on our roll of Corresponding Members. I know that he highly prized his place on that list, to which we were all so glad to welcome him. Had he been a resident of this State he would have been among the most efficient and conspicuous of our immediate members. His professional and local duties in Providence made it a matter of regret to him that he could never be present at one of our meetings. But the Historical Society of his own State valued him as among the most honored, able, and devoted of its many diligent and accomplished laborers in our common field. He had the finest gifts and qualities of a scholar, the best-balanced characteristics of a philosopher, the accomplishments of one of the broadest and richest literary culture, the refinements of a high-toned gentleman, and the modest graces and the engaging virtues of the Christian. He has found, and will find, full and reiterated tributes to his high personal worth, his eminent professional services, and his special contributions to history, and to the more serious ranges of literature. Candor, moderation, and impartiality in statement and argument were very marked in his treatment of themes in which narrowness of view and partisanship are too apt to obtrude themselves. Especially on that subject of fertile and often fervent contention, which Roger Williams has left in a

chancery suit between Massachusetts and Rhode Island, Professor Diman has pronounced the wisest and fairest adjudication. His breadth of culture and his depth in speculative thought placed him with the many among us interested in advanced and progressive dealing with radical and critical problems. But he was among the few of that class who unite with the exercise of a bold freedom the controlling regards of true humility and veneration. He was not afraid to look to the extent of his vision around him, or to penetrate the deepest soundings; but his serene and ever-attractive mien and look and spirit came from his never withdrawing his upward gaze.

Some of the fruits of his diligent, scholarly, and professional studies, and of the products of his thoroughly trained and richly furnished mind, will, of course, appear in due time as permanent memorials of him. But we cannot repress our regret that his sudden removal, in the very vigor of his years and powers, has left to others to decide by which of them his excellences and his attainments are to be perpetuated.

He was followed by the Rev. E. E. HALE, who spoke of the valuable services Professor Diman had rendered to the young people of the city of Providence in cultivating a very general taste for historical studies.

Rev. EDWARD J. YOUNG has, by request, furnished the remarks which he would have made had he been present:—

The tidings of the decease of Professor Diman have come to us so unexpectedly that they have filled our hearts with grief which words are altogether inadequate to express. He had such vitality and vigor, he was in the midst of so many important and varied labors, and he had before him such prospect of high honor and usefulness, that we can scarcely believe that his sun has been darkened in mid heaven, and that his career is for ever closed on earth. By his departure, the university with which he was connected has lost its most brilliant ornament; the cause of letters, and the department of history especially, are bereaved of a distinguished writer and scholar; the church mourns the translation of a thoughtful and impressive preacher, an able philosophical thinker, a sound and learned theologian; the State also has been deprived of one who was held in great esteem, who had illustrated her annals by his writings, and who would doubtless, if he had been spared, have given added lustre to her

fame; while the city where he lived misses now her first citizen.\*

It is difficult for me to speak of him, for he was so accomplished and rare a person, with so few equals, that the simple truth may seem like exaggeration to those who did not know him. But the impression which has been made by his withdrawal from earthly labors proves that a bright light has been extinguished, and that a man has been taken from us of no ordinary worth and excellence. The entire community where he dwelt has been in mourning. In the college chapel on the morning after his death there was an unusual hush and stillness at prayers, the President was so affected that he was unable to proceed with the devotional services, and the students felt that they had met with an irreparable loss, and that a most valuable part of the institution had been taken away. The pulpit and press gave voice to the sorrow which pervaded all classes. Notice of the sad event was taken also in the Legislature, and the House of Representatives adjourned, after fitting tributes had been paid to this private individual, who had not yet reached fifty years of age.

He had come rapidly into prominence during the last few years, and so well had he met the requirements of every position that his friends anticipated for him the highest distinction and service; and it has been said that the most honorable station in the gift of the State would have been his, if he would have been willing to receive it. He stood in the front rank as a public speaker, and he was repeatedly invited to deliver historical and literary addresses in his own and other cities. Three times he was offered a professorship in Harvard University, and he was consulted in regard to the acceptance of the office of Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. But he had little to gain by a removal to any other place, for he was fast making his chair of history one of the most influential in the country, and he was unsurpassed as a teacher and inspirer of young men. He believed, moreover, that a small college possesses certain advantages which are not attainable in a large one.† From what he had accom-

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\* "No man living in this city or State," said the Providence Journal, "could be counted his superior."

† In a speech acknowledging the degree of Doctor of Divinity, which had been conferred upon him by Brown University, he declared: "My own experience induces me more and more to respect the system of training and the general method of culture which has prevailed here for years, which has, as you are well aware, some distinctive features. I believe that the question as to the number of students is a subordinate question." His own *Alma Mater*, he said on another occasion, "in the strictness of her requirements and in the thoroughness

plished there is every reason to think that, if his life had been prolonged, he would have become one of the foremost men of his day. And now, when he had just reached the height of a noble manhood, and honors were multiplying upon him, and he was thoroughly appreciated at home and abroad, he has been suddenly snatched away in the full maturity of his powers, leaving a vacancy in his family, in society, in the academic, literary, and religious world, which it is impossible to fill.

There is no single, salient quality which is conspicuous above all others in the constitution and character of our friend. He was so well-proportioned and well-balanced, so free from all extravagance and singularity of any kind, that he seemed like a finished statue which charms us by its symmetry and grace. With a commanding personal presence, a refined intellectual countenance, a mind enriched with the fruits of study, travel, and intercourse with the best society, a delicate and cultivated taste, dignified and yet affable in his manners, he presented almost the ideal of a Christian scholar and gentleman, —

“A combination, and a form, indeed,  
Where every god did seem to set his seal,” —

in the complete and harmonious development of physical, intellectual, and moral powers.

He set a high standard for himself, and constantly approached the realization of it. He grew steadily, and improved upon himself. He was polished to the last degree, — *homo factus ad unguem*, — and he advanced continually until he gained a place in public estimation which we had never supposed that he would reach. In the lecture-room and on the platform he held the attention of his audience by the high treatment of his theme. His discourses were marked by clearness of thought, felicity of diction, comprehensiveness and fairness of statement, aptness and beauty of illustration. He satisfied the most critical at the same time that he captivated the multitude. He never resorted to any rhetorical

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of her training, stands fully abreast the foremost universities of the land; and in the solid work of class-room instruction, which is confessedly the most valuable feature of college education, she is surpassed by none.” The general grounds for his conviction he expressed in an address in these words: “Unless mind touches mind there will be no heat. A genial, opulent, overflowing soul is the secret of success in teaching. To have read Euripides with Milton were better than having the latest critical edition. Hence the advantage in a college of smaller numbers, where the students, brought into daily familiar contact with superior minds, may catch unconsciously the earnestness, the urbanity, the kindred glow, which only such personal contact can communicate.”

tricks or artifices. He presented the truth in its native garb, knowing that thus it would commend itself to his hearers. His delivery was faultless. He spoke latterly without notes, and without memorizing what he had written. His success was a surprise even to his friends. His orations were worthy of the occasion. They impressed us as coming from an unusually gifted mind, which communed with the first masters. He had studied systems and institutions, and he excelled in setting forth and discussing the fundamental principles underlying them. No one could reproduce a past epoch, delineate its characters, group its facts and trace them to their causes, and show how through them all "an increasing purpose runs," more successfully than he.

As he had himself the highest culture, so he appreciated the best minds and thoughts. He enjoyed the society of scholars, and delighted in intellectual tournaments, whether carried on in the friendly meetings of a club, or in the pages of a review. His large and varied acquirements isolated him somewhat from others. But he was very companionable with those who had tastes kindred with his own. He had an inexhaustible fund of pleasantry and mirthfulness, which enlivened his conversation and made his society delightful, and he always seemed to be light-hearted, and never oppressed by any cares. His power of irony and delicate sarcasm was very effective in exposing unreal pretensions and false statements, and he could easily demolish them by making them appear ridiculous. This was keenly relished by the students, though it made them stand somewhat in awe of him.

He was broad and catholic in his sympathies, and he sought only to find and to announce the truth. He was not a partisan or sectarian. He took large views of every subject, contemplating it on all sides. His liberality was not indifference or indefiniteness. No one believed more firmly in the importance of convictions, and no one was more ready than he to give an answer for his own. He investigated for himself, going always to the original sources, and he did not simply echo the thoughts of others. He occupied an independent position. He was especially qualified to be a teacher of history, since, while he valued the past, he was in full sympathy with the present, and since he had an eminently impartial and judicial mind. To him human history was an organic whole, and he recognized the continuity of its development, and traced beneath its ever-changing waves the under-current of a divine plan and purpose. He would have agreed with Bunsen, that history is a sacred epic or drama,

of which God is the poet, humanity the hero, and the historian is the philosophical interpreter. Speaking of the church, he affirmed: "In the spirit of a comprehensive religious hospitality we are bidden to count no faith common or unclean that has ever served as a bond of sympathy between the soul and its unseen Creator. Looked at in this light, all history is invested with sacredness. In men's changeful experience we are saluted with signs of a divine presence, and the consciousness of the race becomes a progressive revelation of the Infinite Spirit." He was admirably fitted, both by temper and knowledge, to write the religious history of the country, as is proved by the elaborate article on this subject which he furnished to the "North American Review." "The religion of a people is, in a profound sense," he declared, "a part of its history, and results in phenomena to which the mere political student cannot afford to shut his eyes."

Professor Diman was as free in uttering his opinions as he was in forming them, and, when called to act, he consulted conscience rather than what might be for his convenience. Though he belonged to the body of Trinitarian Congregationalists, in the early part of his ministry he took part in an ordination at Channing Church, in Newton, Massachusetts, not merely on grounds of personal friendship with the pastor, but trusting, as he wrote, "that the act may be viewed as significant of an earnest desire on my own part to do what I can to put an end to the unhappy religious dissensions of New England, and to re-establish harmony and union on a truly catholic and apostolic basis." This spirit of independence and liberality subjected him to some annoyance and petty persecution. It caused him to be looked upon with suspicion as being tainted with heresy, because he would not wear a yoke, or repeat the shibboleth that was demanded of him. Had he been willing to accommodate his views to the received standards, his conformity would have brought to him instant popularity and praise. But he was not a man to palter with his integrity. He preferred to formulate his own creed, to think for himself, even though he should stand alone and be cut off from sympathy and fellowship. He felt, however, that he was unjustly aspersed. He knew that he was in accord with the best theologians of Europe, many of whom had been his teachers, and he was impatient at being proscribed by men who merely repeated the traditions of their elders, and were in no way competent to sit in judgment on him as his peers. They could not question his scholarship or ability, or doubt his Christian conscientiousness and sin-

cerity ; and, as in the case of Horace Bushnell, many of them afterwards changed their attitude towards him, and, when they understood his position better, paid him the regard which they had at first withheld.

This principle which governed him, of being true to himself and calling no man master, furnishes the key to all that he did, and explains what might have seemed enigmatical in his action. It led him, as an instructor in Political Economy, to adopt and teach the doctrines of free trade. It enabled him to treat the topics in controversy between his own State and Massachusetts with exceeding fairness and candor, doing justice to both sides ; and, though a Rhode Islander by birth and by strong attachment, to claim for Roger Williams that, and only that, which is his due, and to pronounce a judgment upon his character and services which will be sustained by the verdict of history. It prompted him, when arguing in behalf of Theism and Christianity, to abandon every weak and untenable defence, to concede what was true in the assertions of opponents, and to rest the proof on what must be regarded as impregnable foundations. He was incapable of exaggeration or misrepresentation. In his lectures on the Roman Catholic Church, he was so dispassionate and truthful that he was thought by some to be too lenient and partial, because he did not indulge in the customary invective and contempt.\*

In his theology he was neither a sceptic nor a bigot. He belonged to the church, rather than to any denomination. He had points of sympathy with the representatives of all sects. But he could not march in a platoon or a party, or be shut up within the limits of one school. He valued his individual freedom. And he had the historic sense which led him to appreciate what has been confirmed by the judgment of the ages. He saw the relation of each truth to every other truth. He did not believe that a single mind, acting by itself, could solve the problems of existence. He never forgot that man is linked indissolubly to his race, and that what-

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\* In another connection he said : "The crying fault of the voluntary system is its exclusiveness ; and no one can tread the nave of a great European minster, where the rich light, streaming through the painted window, bathes king and beggar alike as they kneel together before a common Maker, without feeling that American Christians have much to learn respecting the right method of worshipping that Being who is no respecter of persons. We are no foes to religious art ; we see no reason why those who have the means to do it should not make the temple of God as costly and elegant as their own dwellings ; but when the outlay, instead of being the free-will offering of the rich, is allowed to exclude the poor, we say, better let God be worshipped at the corners of the streets."



ever is subject to development must be studied not in one stage of its growth simply, but in its continuous movement, and in its connection with all that the human mind has discovered. Accordingly he maintained that the beliefs of the individual consciousness must be supplemented by those of the universal consciousness. "The teachings of this universal consciousness, as they relate to the great problems of human destiny, are the supreme lessons history has to teach. Beside them, the conquests of empires, the discoveries of new worlds even, are of small account." With these far-reaching views he could not be narrow or dogmatic, but his creed was large, comprehensive, inclusive. He believed firmly in the divine authority of Christianity, and to him Christ was the Incarnate Life and Truth. The establishment of a spiritual kingdom he held to be the great purpose of His coming. "The Gospel swells with this imperial theme." It was this Christianity which he wished to establish. "Do I fail to read the signs of the times aright," he asked, "when I affirm that a craving to escape from partial, superficial views to the grand catholic foundations, to forsake broken cisterns for the river of God that is full of water, is the secret of the unrest that seems now characteristic of all the great families of faith? and shall I err in hailing these intellectual tendencies, which form so marked a feature of our time, as opening the way for a more adequate realization of Christ's kingdom?" Since he dissented from many of the dogmas and methods of New England Congregationalism, and disapproved the negative attitude of those who rejected what to him was essential to Christianity, it was but natural that at last, while keeping his independence, he should have been drawn to the services of that historic church which, holding the doctrines of faith, allows a large liberty in the interpretation of them, combines established order with progress, and appeals to the devout feelings of the worshipper by the symbolism of its architecture and by the impressive ritual of its Christian Year.

Our friend was, above all, religious. There was a deep vein of seriousness beneath all his wit and humor. His piety was as natural as his playfulness. He was sincerely devout and humble, and he lived in communion with the Supreme. This gave him his power as a preacher. Men felt that, when he discoursed of things divine and of the higher life, he spoke whereof he knew, and testified what he had seen. There was an atmosphere of sanctity about him which made all coarseness and irreverence impossible in his presence. He

never lost his dignity in his familiarity. His influence was high-toned and elevating. It was the man more than the professor or preacher that we admired.

He was passionately fond of little children, and he would leave his work to be with them and entertain them. He fixed himself very deeply in the hearts of all who loved him, and with his increasing honors never lost his simplicity and ingenuousness. What a vacancy has been made by the removal of so true and pure a soul, no one can realize who has not seen him in his family, and known his sweetness of character, his affectionateness, his devotedness. But the loss is great likewise to society and the church, since he combined in an eminent degree culture and faith, commended Christianity to scholars, and commanded respect when he spoke on the high themes of reason and religion. As it was said of Schleiermacher, that he had once more introduced the Deity into good society in Berlin, so he who has gone from us was a mediator between the conflicting tendencies of thought which prevail at the present day, and he could gain a hearing for Christian truth from those who might otherwise turn away from it. His Lowell Institute Lectures and a volume of his sermons will doubtless be published; but, in consequence of his using only brief memoranda in delivering his historical lectures, these, which were his chief work, cannot be given to the world. What has already appeared in print, however, is sufficient to show the quality of his mind; and his orations at Cambridge, Providence, and Bristol, will compare favorably with the best that have been pronounced on similar occasions. He was fitted for a higher sphere of service, and he has now entered upon it.

“Why should we mourn, albeit we know his peer  
Perchance among us shall not come again?  
Let us be thankful rather for the life  
Whose mission was to gladden hearts of men.

“Death cannot rob us of the joy he gave,  
Which came to the world-weary as a staff  
To strengthen and sustain, — but after all  
His noble life is his best epitaph.”

Professor J. Lewis Diman, D.D., son of the late ex-Governor Byron Diman, was born in Bristol, Rhode Island, May 1, 1831. He graduated at Brown University in 1851, and at Andover Theological Seminary in 1856, having in the mean

time spent two years in Europe, studying at the universities of Halle, Heidelberg, and Berlin. He was for four years pastor of the First Congregational Church in Fall River, and for four years was settled over the Harvard Church in Brookline, Massachusetts. In 1864 he was appointed Professor of History and Political Economy in Brown University, where he remained seventeen years. He died, after a brief illness, in Providence, Rhode Island, Feb. 3, 1881.

His principal publications are the following:—

"Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." *Doctrine unto Life. A Sermon* printed in the "Monthly Religious Magazine," September, 1863.

The Nation and the Constitution. An Oration delivered before the City Authorities and Citizens of Providence, July 4, 1866.

The Christian Scholar. A Discourse in commemoration of the Rev. Robinson Potter Dunn, D.D., Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature. Delivered, at the request of the Faculty, in the chapel of Brown University, Oct. 16, 1867.

The Method of Academic Culture. An Address before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Amherst College, July 6, 1869. Printed in the "New Englander," October, 1869.

The Historical Basis of Belief. In the Boston Lectures on Christianity and Scepticism, 1870.

Religion in America, 1776-1876. In the "North American Review," January, 1876.

The Alienation of the Educated Class from Politics. An Oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Cambridge, June 29, 1876.

The Capture of General Prescott by Lieutenant-Colonel William Barton. An Address delivered at the Centennial Celebration of the exploit, at Portsmouth, Rhode Island, July 10, 1877. Published, with Notes, in No. 1 of Rider's Rhode Island Historical Tracts.

Address at the Unveiling of the Monument to Roger Williams, erected by the City of Providence, Oct. 16, 1877.

Address at the Dedication of the Rogers Free Library in Bristol, Rhode Island, Jan. 12, 1878.

Address at the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Settlement of the Town of Bristol, Sept. 24, 1880.

He edited "John Cotton's Answer to Roger Williams," in Vol. 2 of the "Publications of the Narragansett Club"; and also "George Fox Digg'd out of His Burrowes," constituting Vol. 5 of the same "Publications."

He furnished many leading articles for the Providence "Journal," and was a contributor to the "Nation" and other papers. Lectures, which he delivered but which have not been published, are:—

The Genius of John Bunyan. Newport, 1852.

Commerce—as one of the great elements of the prosperity and success of nations. Fall River, 1858.

The Relation of the True Idea of a State to its Welfare. Providence, before the Literary Societies of Brown University, 1858.

- Sir Harry Vane. Bristol, 1865.  
The Present Position of the Workingman in the Nineteenth Century. Providence, 1868.  
The Decline of the Religious Sentiment. Amherst, 1869.  
Poetry in Education. American Institute of Instruction, 1870.  
Teachers' Culture, 1873.  
Church and State in Germany, 1874.  
The Relation of the Ottoman Empire to European Politics, 1876.  
Moorish Art in Spain.  
Twenty Lectures on the Thirty Years' War, delivered before the professors and students of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, 1879.  
Twelve Lectures on Theism, delivered at the Lowell Institute in Boston, 1880.

The Rev. Henry F. Jenks, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member, and Mr. Julius Dexter, of Cincinnati, a Corresponding Member.

The President reported that the amount paid over to Canon Farrar from American contributors, for the memorial window to Sir Walter Raleigh in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, was about £315 sterling.

ELLIS AMES, Esq., made the following communication relating to the Garrison Mob in Boston, Oct. 21, 1835: \* —

On the twenty-first day of October, in the year 1835, I was a member of the General Court (House of Representatives) from the town of West Bridgewater, then in session exclusively upon the subject of the Revised Statutes. Upon the re-assembling of the House for the afternoon session at 2 o'clock, before the members had taken their seats, Samuel Wood, Esq., the member from Grafton, announced in my hearing, and in the hearing of a number of others standing on the floor of the House, that a multitude assembled were going to mob Garrison, the editor of the newspaper called the "Liberator," and also one Thompson, reputed to be an Englishman who had come to the United States to lecture to the people of the United States upon the subject of slavery, who was said to be then visiting Garrison.

I did not take my seat, but left the hall of the House and the State House speedily, and went down Beacon Street to Tremont Street and thence to Court Street, opposite Scollay's buildings, then standing, and thence down Court Street, and crossed over to the northerly side, and stopped a moment on the north-west corner formed by the crossing of Washington Street over Court Street, where, on the second story above, was the law office of Messrs. Rand & Fiske.

After stopping a moment under the office of Messrs. Rand & Fiske, I saw Theodore Lyman, Esq., then Mayor of the city of Boston, whom I well knew by sight, with a chair or standee on his arm, on the east-

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\* Mr. Ames communicated this paper at a previous meeting of the Society, but it was not handed in for publication till now. — Eds.

erly side of Washington Street. Immediately Colonel Lyman, the Mayor, put his chair or standee down on the easterly side of Washington Street, about five or six rods north of Court Street, and stood upon it and spoke, warning the multitude, that appeared threatening, to depart to their respective homes. The Mayor then descended from his standee and departed, and I did not see him again that day.

The Mayor's warning was not with loud voice. I well remember that Colonel Lyman was very small around his chest and across his breast, and it then seemed to me that it was impossible for him to speak louder than he did.

In two or three minutes I saw about seventy-five men in single file go upstairs on the easterly side of Washington Street, near where the Mayor had stood when he warned the multitude to depart. I then understood those stairs to lead to the room or office in the third story, where the "Liberator," or newspaper published by Garrison, was printed or published. In a few minutes several of those men who went upstairs returned, and in a loud voice informed the multitude that Garrison was not in his room or office, but that the occupants of the several stores or buildings between Garrison's office and State Street had permitted him to go out by their back doors, and that in a moment he would come out and appear on State Street.

Immediately thereupon I ran into State Street, on the north side of the Old State House, and stood on the steps there leading into the Old State House, and saw Garrison appear on the north side of the street, hesitating for a moment where to go, the multitude being very great and menacing, the great majority of them appearing curious and indifferent as to his fate. Instantly I climbed up on the outside of the building from the door-steps, and stood on the stone window frame or sill of the window west of and about five or six feet from the door-steps, and immediately I saw Garrison come across State Street and go up the steps, where I had stood a moment before, and into the Old State House.

The multitude, consisting of those who were trying to lynch him, and of the much greater number who were attracted merely by curiosity, was at this moment thickening very fast around the Old State House. At this moment I heard a dozen persons say, with loud voices, that Garrison could not conceal himself in that building, whither he had fled, from those who were trying to seize him, but that they would drag him from it as a cat would drag out a squirrel.

No sooner was this announcement made than up drove a coach. It was a new and strong coach, with two very strong and active horses, and I noticed that the wheels had on them very new and thick tires, and that the driver was very athletic, powerful, and active. Simultaneously with the arrival of the coach, about thirty or forty very stout, thick-set, and powerful men, each apparently about forty years old, all dressed in new, neat, blue broadcloth suits, arrived on foot. The coach was instantly backed up to those stone steps on the north side of the Old State House, as far as practicable, and those thirty or forty men ranged themselves, about one-half of them on each side of the steps,

in a double line from the side of the State House to the ends of the coach; and thereupon Garrison went from the inside of the Old State House between those double rows of men to get into the coach.

Then was the crisis. A great multitude of neatly dressed young men, — for their backs and shoulders had not developed, — said at the time by the multitude to be merchants' clerks, assailed the guard of thirty or forty men on both sides of the steps, and rushed with great fury to break through the lines and seize Garrison as he went from the Old State House to the coach; but those stout men on each side stood firm and did not return or in any way notice the blows which the merchants' clerks dealt profusely at their heads and bodies, but their lines were kept so firm that the young men did not break through, and, after a fearful struggle, Garrison got into the coach; and then an attempt was made to cut the harness. But just then the crack of the driver's whip sounded fiercely, and the powerful horses sprang, and then the merchants' clerks looked out not to be run over, and the horses and coach went with very great swiftness towards the jail, then in Leverett Street, where Garrison was deposited. I followed the coach part way and came back.

During the whole time I stood on the stone window frame or sill, several feet above the heads of all the people who thronged Court Street and State Street, and noticed that no one looked at or saw me, so enraged and engaged were they with what went on. This arrangement, by which Garrison was secured and protected, was then at the time said to be planned by Mayor Lyman.

During the early part of this time, the multitude in great numbers said that the Southern people would not trade with the merchants of Boston if the latter permitted such a paper as the "Liberator" to malign them. Another class, quite small in number, in the latter part of the time, said that the protecting Garrison in that mode was wrong, but that it was the Mayor's duty to call out a company of militia, having their guns loaded with powder and ball, and fire into the mob that attempted to seize Garrison. I remember that several men stood debating, and one of them said that this riot, as it was called, was the only way to stop Garrison's paper; that, under our Constitutions, a libellous paper could not be stopped in advance; that in Europe, if the newspapers of two nations could not be stopped by law, war would ensue between those nations; that many wars were prevented in Europe by their respective governments muzzling the press, which could not be done here; and that war would ensue between the North and South if this method, called a mob, were not taken to suppress such a paper as the "Liberator."

The mob wholly dispersed in less than an hour after Garrison was carried off in the coach, and I forthwith went up into the office of Messrs. Rand & Fiske. Mr. Fiske said he saw the whole of the mob, as well he might, from the window of his south-east room, and he complained bitterly that there was not better and safer means to prevent a murder by a mob in the street.

In less than ten minutes after leaving Mr. Fiske I went into the

office, on the opposite side of Court Street, then No. 4, of the late Charles Sumner, and I narrated to him all that had taken place, which he did not know before. He did not express such anxiety about the affair as Mr. Fiske did. If Mr. Sumner had gone to the door of his office, and walked by the railing on the left side about twenty-five feet, he would have come to a window which opened upon the south side of Court Street, where, by looking out in an easterly direction, he could have seen all the doings of the mob, which took place in State Street.

It is well known that Garrison, for his own safety, was carried in that coach to the jail in Boston and left there during the day and night ensuing. In answer to the question how the jailer could have been induced to receive and keep him, I here submit a copy of an original complaint and warrant, which I have examined, on the files with the records and files of the Justice's Court of Boston of that time.

*To Edward G. Prescott, Esquire, one of the Justices of the Peace within and for the County of Suffolk.*

Daniel Parkman, of said Boston, Esquire, complains and gives the said Justice to understand and be informed that William Lloyd Garrison, of Boston, in said county, printer, together with divers other persons to the number of thirty or more to your complainant unknown, on the twenty-first day of October, instant, at Boston, aforesaid, in the county aforesaid, did, as your complainant verily believes and has no doubt, unlawfully, riotously, and rontously assemble, and then and there did disturb and break the peace of the Commonwealth, and a riot did cause and make, to the terror of the good people of the Commonwealth, and against the peace and dignity of the same.

Therefore, your complainant prays that the said William Lloyd Garrison may be apprehended and dealt with as to law and justice shall appertain.

Dated at Boston, this twenty-first day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-five.

DANIEL PARKMAN.

SUFFOLK, ss. }  
BOSTON, Oct. 21, 1835. }

Sworn to before me,

EDWARD G. PRESCOTT,  
*Jus. Pacis.*

SUFFOLK, ss.

*To the Sheriff of our County of Suffolk, or his Deputies, or any of the Constables of the City of Boston.*

Seal.

In pursuance of the foregoing complaint, you are hereby required, in the name of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, to apprehend the within-named William Lloyd Garrison forthwith, and have his body before me, the subscriber, one of the Justices of the Peace of said county, or the Justices of the Po-



lice Court of said city, then and there to be dealt with according to law.

Dated at Boston, the twenty-first day of October, A.D. 1835.

EDWARD G. PRESCOTT,  
*Jus. Pacis.*

SUFFOLK, ss. October 21, 1835.

I have committed the aforesaid Garrison to jail by virtue hereof.

DANIEL PARKMAN,  
*Dep. Sheriff.*

State of Massachusetts, }  
County of Suffolk. } ss.

I, John C. Leighton, Clerk of the Municipal Court of the city of Boston, for the transaction of criminal business, do hereby certify that I have compared the foregoing with the original complaint on file in my office, and that the same is a true transcript thereof and of the whole of such original.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said Court, this ninth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-six.

JOHN C. LEIGHTON,  
*Clerk.*

There is no extended record of this case on file, but it appears by the minutes on the Court Docket of that date that said Garrison was arraigned on said charge in the Police Court of the city of Boston, on the twenty-second day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-five, and after the usual examination he was discharged.



JOHN C. LEIGHTON,  
*Clerk of the Municipal Court of the City of Boston.*

Mr. HENRY LEE mentioned a recent visit to the last owner of the Clark or Frankland House at the North End of Boston, and spoke, in substance, as follows:—

Fifty years ago, the "Old North End," as it was affectionately called, was a most attractive quarter of the town,—quaint, historical, romantic,—a region of old shops, old taverns, old dwellings, old meeting-houses, old ship-yards, old traditions, its antique flavor preserved by its isolation.

The narrow streets and narrow alleys followed the tortuous shore or twisted about the former boundaries of marsh and headland, lined with old shops and houses, some of colonial date, with their many gables, their overhanging upper stories, their huge panelled chimneys, interspersed with aristocratic mansions of greater height and pretensions flanked with outbuildings and surrounded by gardens. The ancient Ship Tavern, or "Noah's Ark," with its walls seamed by the earthquake

of 1663, where Sir Robert Carr, Charles II.'s commissioner, beat the constable and replied cavalierly to Governor Leverett's summons, carried one back to the colonial days. The mansion of Sir William Phips, "the fair brick house in the Green Lane of North Boston," of which he had dreamed while he tended sheep, recalled the romantic story of that stout-hearted, irascible adventurer, the first governor under the new charter. The "Two Palaverers," rendezvous of the North End Caucus, where John Hancock made his grandiloquent annunciation, "Burn Boston, and make John Hancock a beggar"; the more famous Green Dragon, with its emblematic sign, "Head-quarters of the Revolution," as Daniel Webster named it, and early home of the Free-Masons, where treason was hatched, and the "Tea Party" planned by Otis and Molineux, Adams and Hancock, Warren and Revere, and the treacherous Dr. Church, and where the North End mechanics declared in favor of the Federal Constitution; — these, with the homes of the youthful Franklin and Warren and Revere, and of many more, patriots and refugees, still stood to remind one of the actors in our Revolutionary struggle.

The "Old North" of the Mathers had been pulled down for firewood by the British soldiers, but the adopted Old North peered up with its revengeful cockerel, a visible monument of the piety or the malignity of the "aggrieved brethren" of the New North (a mooted point with North Enders); and in Salem Street, upon the eastern slope of Copp's Hill, stood Christ Church, with its graceful steeple, where hung Paul Revere's lantern, and whose tuneful chimes were wafted through the Sabbath stillness of the sparsely built town, —

"Chasing all thoughts unholy  
With sounds most musical, most melancholy."

Copp's Hill, the burial-place of the Mathers, and of all the generations of North Enders, high and low, still faced Bunker Hill, though the battery from behind which Clinton and Burgoyne had beheld with consternation the slaughter of British troops had been levelled.

Clustered around the base of the hill were the old ship-yards associated with the invincible "Old Ironsides," and a series of "argosies of portly sail," of earlier and later date, that had ploughed every sea on peaceful or warlike errand for two hundred years.

The sound of the mallets and of the broad-axes was still to be heard; the smell of tar regaled the senses; you could chat with caulkers, riggers, and spar-makers, and other web-footed brethren who had worked upon these "pageants of the sea"; and you could upon occasion witness the launch of one of these graceful, wonderful masterpieces of human skill.

One of the most interesting localities was North, or of old, Clark, Square, with its ancient overhanging houses, in one of which had been quartered the gallant and genial Major Pitcairn, of Lexington memory; in another dwelt the family of Commodore Downes, and by its side Paul Revere had lived, and in his windows exhibited his patriotic transparencies. Here was the narrow alley through which Governor

Hutchinson reached the Revenge Church by a private door opening into his pew. At the head of the Square had stood the Old North, and, in its place, stood the parsonage of Dr. Lathrop, the last of the big-wig clergy. In Moon Street, just off the Square, was an ancient house, once the habitation of the Rev. Samuel Mather, in which his brother-in-law, Governor Hutchinson, had taken refuge the night of his house-sacking; and here in parallel Garden Court Street still stood the unfortunate Governor's mansion, from which he had been driven.

As a boy the instinct of heredity had drawn me to the North End, as the home of an ancestor, one of the founders and long a ruling elder of the "Revenge Church," whose tomb on Copp's Hill and sundry estates scattered about that neighborhood were stations in my pilgrimage, more especially his ample mansion in North Bennett Street, from which the "aggrieved brethren" rushed into the New North on learning that the Rev. Peter Thacher and his friends had stolen a march and were proceeding with his ordination, notwithstanding their protest. This old house I haunted so persistently as to awaken the suspicions of the then proprietor, who, after my profuse explanations, remained doubtful whether to consider me a burglar or an imbecile.

It was in one of our rambles through this fascinating region in the pleasant days of spring that some of us schoolboys found our way into a deserted house, whose pictorial and architectural splendor so captivated us as to induce repeated visits, interrupted only by our summer's rustication. Returning in the fall, what was our dismay to find our enchanted castle gone, and upon its site and over its garden a block of modern brick houses.

An anxious visit of inquiry to "honest Foster," the silversmith, who, in his long coat, knee-breeches and silver buckles, dwelt with his spinster sister in an impracticably low-jettied house in Ann Street, one step below the narrow sidewalk, and, as old-fashioned housekeepers believed, beat his silver to a superior whiteness, while he regaled us schoolboys with traditions of a past age, confirmed the evidence of our senses with the added information that the paintings and other decorations had been destroyed or hopelessly dispersed.

Thirty years went by, and I had almost come to the conclusion that I had been indebted to my imagination for the seeming facts of its sumptuousness and heraldic effulgence, when, upon the purchase of the Winslow Lewis estate, I came across two of the painted and emblazoned panels, so far corroborating my recollections; which, after another twenty years' interval, have been again revived, and this unique mansion of provincial Boston, with its improbable inhabitants, remanded from the realms of romance and dreams by the unexpected apparition of its last owner in the flesh, and the inspection of various relics he has preserved.

The Clark House (the deserted mansion) and Hutchinson House formed the west side of prettily named Garden Court Street, a short thoroughfare running from the north end of North Square to Fleet Street. There they stood, these rival mansions, festooned with Vir-

ginia creeper, behind their green court-yards, placidly as if their inmates had never been disturbed by French wars, Boston mobs, or Lisbon earthquakes.

The Hutchinson House was built by Colonel Thomas Hutchinson, a descendant of William Hutchinson and his famous wife, "that woman of ready wit and bold spirit," more than a match for her reverend and magisterial inquisitors. He was a wealthy merchant and councillor, who made his native town a sharer in his prosperity by founding the North End Grammar School. His son, the future governor, was born in this house, which, upon the death of his father in 1739, became his, and here he remained while in office, the only one of the provincial governors who did not inhabit the Province House, alleging that he had a better house of his own, an assertion amply justified if we can believe Mrs. Child's account of its interior.

Here he surrounded himself with his books and works of art; here he collected precious manuscripts and compiled his interesting History; and here, on the night of the 26th August, 1765, he was sought by an infuriated mob, and would have been assassinated but for his daughter's devotion; his house was sacked, his rich furniture of all sorts destroyed, and his priceless manuscripts scattered to the winds, some of them picked up and restored by his neighbor, the Rev. Dr. Eliot.

A few years more of contention, and this courtly representative of an ancient and honorable family, this sincere lover of his country, this patient student of her history, this skilful man of affairs, this persuasive speaker, this upright and merciful judge, once so beloved, unable to discern or unwilling to adopt the course of a wise patriot, hindered perhaps by his great possessions, fled from his native land and died a broken-hearted exile; moralizing possibly like Wolsey upon the consequences of ambition, and looking back fondly to his birthplace in sunny Garden Court Street.

After Hutchinson's departure, the estate was confiscated, and purchased for a song by Mr. William Little, a respectable merchant, whose family remained there till its downfall. General John P. Boyd, a brother of Mr. Little's, was a member of the family for some years, a soldier of fortune who early in life had served the native East Indian princes with a force raised by himself, and brought home his pay in the concrete form of a cargo of saltpetre, as tradition reported, and later distinguished himself in the War of 1812. A tall, showy, handsome man with his war-paint on, his red wig, and face of the same color artificially heightened, who strutted through the streets with a military swagger and slightly military costume, and performed the duties of naval officer to the satisfaction of President Jackson.

The Clark House was erected by the Hon. William Clark, Esq.,—like his neighbor, a wealthy merchant and a councillor,—to outshine the house built by Colonel Hutchinson. It was a well-proportioned house, built of brick, of three stories in height, looking down upon its two-storied neighbor, an *intentional oversight*, with a gambrel roof crowned by a balustrade. The front was relieved by a row of dormer windows, by a modillioned cornice, by string courses between each

story, and by the richly carved pediment and pilasters of the doorway.

Passing through the door, you entered a hall of hospitable width, running from front to rear, spanned by an arch midway. The front hall, lighted by windows on either side of the door, gave access to the front parlors; the rear hall, leading to the sitting-room and kitchen, was lighted by a tall arched window over the stairs, up and down whose gentle grades his pony scrambled with the gouty Sir Harry Frankland.

The hall with its balustraded staircase, the parlors and chambers with their panelled walls, their deep window-seats, their chimney-pieces flanked by arched and pilastered alcoves, — all were in the just proportion and with the classic details handed down from the days of good Queen Anne or Dutch William. So far, the house, within and without, was only a fine specimen of the mansions of wealthy citizens of the provincial period in and around Boston. The feature which distinguished it from its neighbors was the rich, elaborate, and peculiar decoration of the north parlor on the right of the entrance hall.

Opposite the door was the ample fireplace with its classic mantel-piece, a basket of flowers and scroll-work in relief upon its frieze. On the right of the chimney-piece was an arched alcove lighted by a narrow window; on the left an arched buffet with a vaulted ceiling.

The other three walls were divided into compartments by fluted pilasters of the Corinthian order, which supported the entablature with its dentilled cornice.

The flutings and capitals of the pilasters, the dentils of the cornice, the vault and shelves of the buffet, were all heavily gilded. So far, as I said before, it was only a rich example of the prevalent style.

The peculiar decoration consisted of a series of raised panels filling these compartments, reaching from the surbase to the frieze, eleven in all, each embellished with a romantic landscape painted in oil colors, the four panels opposite the windows being further enriched by the emblazoned escutcheons of the Clarks, the Saltonstalls, and other allied families.

Beneath the surbase, the panels, as also those of the door, were covered with arabesques. The twelfth painting was a view of the house upon a horizontal panel over the mantel, and beneath this panel, inscribed in an oval, was the monogram of the builder, W. C. At the base of the gilded and fluted vault of the buffet was a painted dove.

The floor was inlaid with divers woods in multiform patterns; in the centre, surrounded by a border, emblazoned in proper colors, was the escutcheon of the Clarks, with its three white swans.

The mere enumeration of the details fails to give an idea of the impression made by this painted and gilded parlor, not an inch of whose surface but had been elaborated by painter, gilder, carver, or artist, to which the blazoner had added heraldic emblems; so that as you looked round these walls, the romantic ruins and castles seemed placed

there to suggest, if not to portray, the old homes of a long line of ancestors, and the escutcheons above to confirm the suggestion, thereby enhancing the splendor of the present by the feudal dignity of an august past.

The Hutchinson House is said to date from 1710. The Clark House may have been built three years later, as the land was purchased 10 December, 1711, of Ann Hobby, widow, and several others, daughters and co-heirs of John Winsley, deceased, of Boston, for £725 current money. If so, Councillor Clark lived for many years to enjoy the sumptuousness of his new house and the envy of his neighbors. His death in 1742, attributed by some to the loss of forty sail of vessels in the French wars, may more naturally be accounted for by his having reached the ripe age of seventy-two years. He was one of the original worshippers at Christ Church, although his sister Elizabeth was married to Cotton Mather.

He was buried in his tomb at Copp's Hill, marked by a tablet bearing the family arms.

He was seemingly a consequential man, vain of his wealth and of his ancestry, more anxious to rival his neighbor's magnificence than his public spirit. His family pride would have been wounded had he foreseen that a granddaughter should die in the almshouse, and more than healed had he known that among his many highly respectable descendants he could have reckoned the Duke of Argyle, and his heir, the present Marquis of Lorne, the husband of the Princess Louise, his lineal descendant in the sixth generation, through his daughter Sarah, wife of the wealthy and enterprising Christopher Kilby, for a long time agent of the Province of Massachusetts Bay and generous benefactor to his native town.

Soon after the death of Mr. Clark, his estate was conveyed to his son-in-law, Deacon Thomas Greenough, for £1,400, old tenor, and was by him sold in 1756 to Sir Charles Henry Frankland, Bart., for £1,200 sterling.

Sir Harry Frankland, as he was familiarly called, heir to an ample fortune, and, what adds to his interest here, a descendant, in the fourth generation, of Oliver Cromwell, came to this country in 1741, as Collector of the port of Boston, preferring that office to the Governorship of Massachusetts, the alternative offered him by George II.

The story of his life and that of the lovely Agnes Surriage has been told in prose and verse, and hardly needs repeating.

Upon an official visit to Marblehead, he was struck by the radiant beauty of a young girl of sixteen, maid-of-all-work at the village inn, bare-legged, scrubbing the floor; inquired her name; and upon a subsequent visit, with the consent of her parents, conveyed her to Boston, and placed her at the best school.

Ten years later, the connection between this high official and his fair protégée causing scandal, Frankland purchased some 500 acres of land in Hopkinton, which he laid out and cultivated with taste, built a stately country-house and extensive farm buildings, and there entertained all the gay companions he could collect with deer and

fox hunts without, with music and feasting within doors, duly attending the church of his neighbor, the Rev. Roger Price, late of King's Chapel, Boston, of which Frankland had been, from his arrival, a member.

Called to England by the death of his uncle, whose title he inherited as fourth baronet, he journeyed to Lisbon, and there, upon All Saints' Day, 1755, on his way to high mass, he was engulfed by the earthquake, his horses killed, and he would have perished miserably but for his discovery and rescue by the devoted Agnes.

Grateful and penitent, he led her to the altar, and poor Agnes Surriage, the barefooted maid-of-all-work of the inn at Marblehead, was translated into Lady Agnes Frankland.

It was upon Sir Harry Frankland's return from Europe in 1756 that he became the owner of the Clark House, lived in it one short year, entertaining continually with the assistance of Thomas, his French cook, as appears by frequent entries in his journal; was then transferred to Lisbon as Consul General, and so, with the exception of brief visits to this country in 1759 and 1763, disappeared from our horizon.

After his death at Bath, England, in 1768, his widow returned here with Henry Cromwell, but not until she had recorded her husband's virtues upon a monument "erected by his affectionate widow, Agnes, Lady Frankland,"—dividing her year between Boston and Hopkinton, exchanging civilities with those who had once rejected her, till the contest with England rendered all loyalists and officials unpopular.

Defended from molestation by a guard of six soldiers, Lady Frankland entered Boston about the first of June, 1775, witnessed from her window in Garden Court Street the battle of Bunker Hill, took her part in relieving the sufferings of the wounded officers, and then in her turn disappeared with Henry Cromwell, leaving her estates in the hands of members of her family. She lived a few years with the Frankland family in England, married a second time in 1782, and died in 1783.

She is described as altogether a very lovely creature, with a majestic gait, dark lustrous eyes, clear melodious voice, and a sweet smile, graceful and dignified manners, readily adapting herself to her rapid change of position, winning the affection of her husband's well-born relatives, while she never forgot nor forsook her own humble kindred.

One gets a very favorable impression of Sir Harry Frankland from his journal and from the transmitted facts of his life. He was a liberal giver, as the records of the King's Chapel attest, a lover of hospitality, a warm friend, constantly remitting to a large circle at home tokens of his affectionate remembrance, living in friendly relations with his more Puritan neighbors in town, helpful to those in the country, courteous and considerate to all; independent in judgment, as his comments upon the policy of the government manifest.

The errors of his youth, for he came here as Collector at the age of twenty-five, he sought to repair. His natural son, Henry Cromwell,



he brought home to be cherished by his wife, had him educated, and provided for him handsomely in his will.\*

Penitent for his betrayal of the young girl who had trusted in him, he made her his wife, welcomed all her family, sailor brother included, to his hospitable home, treating as his own two of her sister's children; † was a considerate, loving husband while living, and at his death divided his fortune between her and Henry Cromwell.

A strange, eventful history, facts too improbable for fiction, to be told only by a poet, who should conjure up the thoughts that entered the mind, the feelings that agitated the heart, of this fair, sweet Agnes, as she sat at the window of her painted parlor in Garden Court Street, gazing by turns at the Old North Meeting-House and into the great buttonwood by its side, while the diorama of her life passed before her mind's eye.

Upon Lady Frankland's death, the town mansion, which had escaped confiscation, passed by her will to her family, and was by them sold in 1811 for \$8,000 to Mr. Joshua Ellis, a retired North End merchant, who resided there until his death.

Upon the widening of Bell Alley in 1832, these two proud mansions, long since deserted by the families whose importance they were erected to illustrate and perpetuate, objects of interest to the poet, the artist, and the historian, alike for their association with a seemingly remote past, their antique splendor, and for the series of strange, romantic incidents in the lives of their successive occupants, were ruthlessly swept away.

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\* Henry Cromwell became an officer in the British navy, had a creditable record, and finally left it rather than fight against his native country.

† Among the interesting relics in possession of Mr. Rowland Ellis is a well-painted picture of two children left in a panel over the mantel of one of the chambers when the house was sold by Isaac Surriage to Mr. Ellis. Circumstances tend to the belief that these are portraits of John and Sally M'Clester, the two children here mentioned.

## MARCH MEETING, 1881.

The regular monthly meeting of the Society was held in the Dowse Library on Thursday afternoon, March 10, the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and accepted. The Librarian presented his report of accessions to the Library during the past month.

The Corresponding Secretary announced the acceptance by the Rev. Henry F. Jenks of his election as a Resident Member, and the acceptance by Messrs. Julius Dexter, of Cincinnati, and George Otto Trevelyan, of England, of their elections as Corresponding Members.

On the recommendation of the Council, it was voted that the Annual Meeting be held on Friday, April 8, at noon, to adjourn to the house of the President for a social meeting. Messrs. Abbott Lawrence and George B. Chase were appointed the Committee to examine the Treasurer's accounts, and Messrs. Saltonstall, Tuttle, and J. C. Ropes, the Committee on Nominations.

The President then spoke as follows : —

We are called on this afternoon, Gentlemen, to take notice of the very recent deaths of two of our most venerable Resident Members, so that they may be appropriately entered on our records.

The Hon. John Chipman Gray, LL.D., died at his winter home in this city on the morning of the 3d instant, and was buried in Mount Auburn Cemetery, near to his summer residence at Cambridge, on the afternoon of the 5th. He was chosen a member of this Society in 1841, and his name stood fourth on our roll in the order of seniority of election. He was one of our Vice-Presidents for three years, and until a recent period was a frequent attendant at our meetings, taking an active part in our proceedings. Some of us can recall an interesting meeting at his own house in 1859, when communications were received from Edward Everett and Emory Washburn and Judge Warren and Nathaniel Ingersoll Bowditch, and others who have long since passed away.

Born at Salem in 1793, Mr. Gray had completed his eighty-seventh year on the 26th of December last, and had entirely withdrawn of late from public meetings of any sort. Yet his mind was clear and vigorous to the end, and he was spared from any serious physical infirmity until within a few weeks of his death. One of the younger sons of William Gray, once lieutenant-governor of the Commonwealth, and whose name was so long associated with the highest integrity and the widest and most successful commercial enterprise, he enjoyed the best education which New England then afforded. He was a graduate of Harvard College in 1811, while still in his seventeenth year, in the class with Edward Everett, of whom, as he told us on the occasion of Mr. Everett's death, in 1865, he was the chum for two years, and an intimate friend for sixty years. As a young man, he travelled extensively in Europe, studied law, and was admitted to the bar; but he never entered seriously on the practice of his profession. His circumstances did not require him to do so; and clients rarely seek those who can do without fees. But he was soon drawn into public service, was a member of the Common Council for several years as early as 1824, and afterward served the State as a representative of Boston, as a senator of Suffolk, and as a member of the executive council, successively, during a long term of years.

Mr. Gray devoted himself with zeal and energy to whatever service he undertook, and held it a matter of conscientious obligation to study and to master the questions on which he was called to give a vote. As one of his associates for a few years in the Legislature of Massachusetts, I can bear personal testimony to the peculiar confidence which was reposed in the soundness of his judgment, in the extent and exactness of his information, and in his scrupulous impartiality and integrity, by all, of all parties, who were around him. He was a man of singularly quick perceptions, seeing at a glance the drift of a measure or a motion, and ready to pronounce upon it while others were deliberating or doubting. The absence of mind which he sometimes exhibited, or seemed to exhibit, was any thing but an indication of his intellectual qualities. He was both quick-sighted and far-sighted; and few men went deeper than he did into any subject which he studied. He was proverbial, at one time, for getting all that was worth knowing out of a new book while he was cutting the leaves, or sometimes by looking between the leaves without cutting them at all.

Mr. Gray had no fancy for display, and less faculty for it,

perhaps, than many of his contemporaries. But he was a man of generous culture, a great reader, a close thinker, a good debater, and a clear and able writer. A little volume which he published in 1856 contains his principal productions. It includes an essay on Dante, giving evidence of his Italian studies, first printed in 1819; an essay on Demosthenes, proving that he had not forgotten or abandoned his Greek, in 1826; and an essay on college education, in 1851. These were all contributed to the "North American Review." But the larger part of his volume is made up of addresses or essays on agriculture or horticulture, on forest trees and fruit trees, and on the climate of New England. These were the subjects which continued to interest and occupy him long after his love of ancient or modern literature had grown colder with advancing age. The study of an unfamiliar tongue — Anglo-Saxon, Icelandic, or, perhaps, Sanskrit — would still attract him. But agriculture and horticulture were his favorite pursuits, and he pursued them practically as well as theoretically. His relations to the old Massachusetts Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, both as one of the trustees and as its President, were as valuable as they were long-continued; and his green-houses were lovingly cared for, almost to the last day of his life.

He was eminently a just man, — true to his neighbor and to his God, — doing much, while he lived, for those in less favored circumstances than himself, and not forgetting, in the final disposition of his fortune, some of those great institutions of education and charity which he had helped to encourage and maintain in previous years.

Mr. Gray was early married to a daughter of the late Samuel P. Gardner, Esq., a former member of this Society. They had no children, and, happily for him, her death preceded his own by less than two years.

I pass to the name of George Barrell Emerson, LL.D., who died at Chestnut Hill on Friday last, the 4th instant, and whose funeral was largely attended at King's Chapel on the 7th. Mr. Emerson was elected a member of this Society at our annual meeting in 1863, and never failed to manifest a warm interest in being with us, until the infirmities of age disabled him. He delivered, as you will remember, one of our course of Lowell Lectures in the winter of 1868-69. And no one will have forgotten his last appearance among us, at the January meeting of 1879, when he came to pay a brief tribute to the memory of his friend and classmate, Caleb

Cushing, with whom he had been intimately associated at Harvard University.

Mr. Emerson was born in the town of Wells, Old York, in what is now the State of Maine, on the 12th of September, 1797, and was thus in his eighty-fourth year when he died. Brought up on his father's farm, his attention, as a child, seems to have fastened itself on the growth and structure of the weeds and plants around him, and he thus formed habits of observing the processes of nature, which laid the foundation of the botanical studies by which he was distinguished in later life. After acquiring the rudiments of education at Dummer Academy in Byfield, he entered Harvard College in 1813, and was graduated, with a Class which included Bancroft and Cushing and other eminent scholars, in 1817. From Cambridge he was called at once to be the master of a school at Lancaster, where he enjoyed the friendly and paternal supervision of the late excellent Dr. Nathaniel Thayer. After two years at Lancaster he was appointed tutor of mathematics, under President Kirkland at Harvard. In 1821 he was summoned to the place of Principal of the English Classical School, then newly established in Boston, and now known as the Boston High School; and, after a service of another term of two years in that capacity, he accepted the call of many of our best citizens to take charge of a new School for Young Ladies. He had now found a sphere to which he was peculiarly adapted, and in his relations to which he ever felt a just pride. This school he conducted with signal success, giving a new impulse to female education, and winning the respect and affection of all who were committed to his care. And when at last, after a long term of service, he was induced to resign the place and seek relaxation by a visit to Europe, he was able to say that he had been engaged in the work of teaching for more than forty years. This is eulogy enough for any man. What limit can be ascribed to the influence for good of a faithful and accomplished teacher, such as he eminently was, during so protracted a period?

But his efforts had not been confined to the special schools with which he was immediately connected. He had been strongly impressed with the low condition of the common schools of New England generally, and had been largely concerned both in the organization of our State Board of Education, and in the establishment of normal schools in Massachusetts. The Memorial to our Legislature, drafted by him as president of the American Institute of Instruction, prepared

the way for both of these invaluable measures. The first Normal School in our country was soon afterward opened at Lexington by the united efforts of Mr. Emerson, Horace Mann, Edmund Dwight, and a few others like them. Meanwhile, Mr. Emerson was one of the founders of the Boston Natural History Society, and its president in 1837. To him was assigned, in connection with Professor Dewey, the preparation of a report on the trees and shrubs of Massachusetts, to supplement the geological survey of Dr. Hitchcock; and this report, which was highly valued and widely circulated at the time of its original publication by the State, was thoroughly revised and published by himself, as lately as 1875, in two sumptuous volumes, richly illustrated. By this work, not inferior in elegance or intrinsic worth to any work of the kind which has come from the American press, Mr. Emerson's name will be as prominently and permanently associated with the natural history of his native Commonwealth, as it must ever be with her institutions of education.

Our friend was a frequent contributor to magazines and journals, and some of the most interesting of these contributions were collected and published by himself about three years ago. A most entertaining and instructive little volume it is, under the title of "Reminiscences of an Old Teacher." With that work — full of charming illustrations of his Christian character — his labors ended; and the little remnant of his life was passed quietly in the country, either at his own seaside villa at Winthrop, or at the residence of his daughter, Mrs. Judge Lowell, at Chestnut Hill.

And thus our two venerable friends and associates have passed away from us together at a good old age, leaving pleasant memories for all who knew them, and with nothing to be regretted in their lives or in their deaths.

I am instructed by the Council to submit the customary Resolution: —

*Resolved*, That this Society have observed with deep sensibility the recent departure from this life of our two venerable Associates, the Hon. John C. Gray and Dr. George B. Emerson, and that the President be instructed to appoint two of our number to prepare Memoirs of them respectively, for some future volume of the Proceedings.

The Resolution was unanimously adopted.

The Rev. Dr. ELLIS then read a paper suggested by Mr. Whittier's poem, "The King's Missive."

I observe that in the published Proceedings of the meeting of the Society for September, from which I was necessarily absent, it is noted that Mr. Winsor read the poem of Mr. Whittier, which is prefixed to the first volume of the Memorial History of Boston, and has since been reissued in another form. The poem, a rich and beautiful production, with all the exquisite touches of its author's genius, is entitled "The King's Missive," and describes the call of Samuel Shattuck upon Governor Endicott, with a mandate from Charles II., and its alleged results. The poem adopts an oft-repeated statement or tradition, that while the sharpest laws and severest "penalties" were still in force in Massachusetts against the people called Quakers, and were wholly unrelaxed, Governor Endicott and the magistrates were rebuked and restrained by what is called a "mandate" from the king, brought hither by a banished Quaker, and that the result was that there was a general jail delivery which set all such prisoners free, marking the full triumph of Quaker fidelity and heroism over Puritan intolerance and cruelty.

The poetic sketch is finely and picturesquely drawn, with incidents, scenery, and actors portrayed in a masterly way. The record in our Proceedings says that the reading of the poem "led to some discussion as to the historical accuracy of Mr. Whittier's description."\* And well it might do so. For

\* The poem, as it appeared in the Memorial History, is accompanied by some striking and finely drawn illustrations, which do not accompany it in its separate publication. The attention of the writer of this paper was engaged by these illustrations, and by the sketch of the poetic license indulged in them, — one of them presenting a jail delivery of imprisoned Quakers, and another, a jubilation meeting held by them around the great elm on the Common. Our court records make no mention of a jail delivery consequent upon the reception of the king's letter. Indeed, all the imprisoned Quakers had been discharged before the letter was received, by order of the court, on its own discretion. There had been three persons in the jail under sentence of death for repeated return from banishment. Of these, Joseph Nicolson and Jane his wife (see Court Records, vol. iv. part 1, p. 433) had been discharged on their agreement to go off to England, in October, 1690; and the other, "Wendlocke Christopher-son," had in June, 1661 (vol. iv. part 2, p. 23), secured his liberty by certifying that he had freedom to depart from this jurisdiction, and knew not "that he should come into it any more." The magistrates were not at all concerned when the victims of their severity carried their grievances to the English court, as they had been stolidly hardened to all such risks from the first settlement of the colony.

That, if there had been a considerable number of Quakers in prison to be let out as a consequence of the reception of the king's letter, they would have been permitted to hold a glorification meeting on the Common is altogether unlikely, and has no warrant in the record.



here, as often, poetry, and the tradition which it adopts and decorates, are directly at issue with the certified prose facts of history. No *such* royal mandate, demanding a general jail delivery of Quakers, as is represented, was received by Governor Endicott. The proceedings of the court and magistrates toward the Quakers were in no whit changed by such intimations of the king's wishes as were communicated to them. His instructions in his letter were not complied with, and there was no general jail delivery of prisoners. The laws against the Quakers, as they stood on the receipt of the letter, continued to be executed after it.

One does not like to detract any thing on the score of kindness and humanity from what may be claimed for that graceless monarch, Charles II. He has need of all that he may be entitled to of such encomiums. But the historical facts of the case before us will present it intelligibly and candidly to our minds. These may be disposed under three leading questions:—

1. What was the state of the law for the dealing with the Quakers and of public opinion and feeling here, when the receipt of his letter is alleged to have relaxed the severity of treatment to which they were subjected?

2. What demand or request did he make concerning them, and to what extent or in what way was his wish complied with?

3. How did he and the laws of his kingdom treat the Quakers?

1. Let us take the facts of the case by date and incident. It is unnecessary to repeat here the sad and tragic story connected with the intrusion in this rigid Puritan jurisdiction of individuals and groups of strolling strangers, fervent enthusiasts, who alleged that they came on a special divine commission to rebuke and overthrow the Puritan spirit and its institutions, and who, under the goadings of fanaticism or the provocations of the ruthless treatment which they met with, used the severest denunciations of invective and obloquy against magistrates and ministers, denounced woful judgments, and violated the rules of common decency. Exasperated by their language and conduct, their stout refusal to go away unharmed,—which they justified by alleging compulsion of conscience and the divine leading,—the court had passed a series of laws for protection against them, and penalties increasing in severity were threatened on the successive returns again and again of such as they had hoped to rid themselves of by banishment. By a stout resolve and

heroism the Quakers affirmed that they must and would accomplish their mission, even at the cost of their lives. Finally, by a bare majority in the votes of the court, hectoring and infuriated by the contempt of their orders and the scornful defiance of their authority, capital punishment by the gallows was denounced on such banished Quakers as returned a fourth time, and who, when about to be executed, refused the proffer of relief if they would only go away and stay away. The opposition to this capital law was so earnest and intense as almost to withstand its passage; and the execution of it in each of four cases was attended with murmurs, protests, and threatened prohibition, which wellnigh baffled the resolve of the authorities.

In pursuance of the law, two Quakers returning from banishment, Robinson and Stevenson, were hanged on the Common on Oct. 27, 1659. Then Mary Dyer, who, having been taken from the gallows against her will and sent off, had returned here through the woods on foot almost as soon as her escort got back on horses, was hanged June 1, 1660. There was an evident faltering of purpose which needed stiffening of itself to its grim resolve on the part of the magistrates, as to other condemned victims. Joseph Nicholson and wife were tolerated till the following October 16, when they agreed to go off to England. The same privilege was in vain extended to William Leddra, a most persistent troubler, who was executed March 14, 1661. This fourth was to be the last victim. The people would allow no more. While Leddra was on trial, Wenlock Christison made his way into court with daring effrontery in denunciation. But he wrote from his prison to the magistrates that he was left "free in spirit" to go off, and he was allowed to go. But if he had proved as firm as those before him, he would not have reached the gallows, unless perhaps to sit upon it. Popular revulsion of feeling compelled the court, by ingenious devices, to evade their capital law without a formal repeal of it. On May 22, 1661, it enacted that all strolling and vagabond Quakers who would not go off when so ordered, should be whipped at the cart-tail, from town to town, out of the jurisdiction; this to be repeated on a second and third return. Two additional penalties, which, however, were never enforced, were denounced upon a fourth and fifth return,—branding on the hand with the letter R, for rogue, and another scourging; and finally, for incorrigible pertinacity, the penalty of death was in reserve.

The effrontery and indecency of the Quakers waxed to a

perfect riot under these circumstances. Women without any clothing, and smeared with black dye, marched through highways and public places "by way of prophesying," screeching, denouncing awful judgments, causing dread, pain, and fright to many of the delicate of their own sex. Such was the position of things here in May, 1661. There were to be no more capital cases. About thirty victims had suffered whippings by order of the General Court, and many more from local courts. With the exception of the lamentable final penalty, Massachusetts had exactly followed—even that at a distance—the course of the mother country in the treatment of the Quakers, who were fined, plundered, mobbed, scourged, tormented, and left to die and rot by hundreds in loathsome prisons. The maniac Quaker, James Naylor, was barbarously mutilated.

2. We ask now, in the second place, what was the message sent to our authorities by King Charles, and how did they deal with it? It was not till six months after Massachusetts had set aside her own law, and eight months after the gallows had had its last victim, and some others subject to it had been saved from it, that the occasion occurred which is so picturesquely and ideally drawn by Whittier. A very famous and earnest Quaker, Edward Burroughs, was the medium of the king's intervention, such as it was. Burroughs managed to obtain an interview with Charles II., for the purpose of interceding for his ill-treated Quaker brethren at home there. There is a story that Burroughs got access to the king out of doors, while his Majesty was playing tennis. As Burroughs kept on his hat while accosting the king, the latter gracefully removed his plumed cap and bowed. The Quaker, put to the blush, said: "Thee need'st not remove thy hat." "Oh," replied the king, "it is of no consequence, only that when the king and another gentleman are talking together, it is usual for one of them to take off his hat." Even the stern Oliver Cromwell allowed himself the same play of humor in an interview with George Fox, as we learn from the latter's journal. One cannot but wish that there had been more of this rollicking pleasantry in dealing with the fantasies of those strange and eccentric enthusiasts here, instead of such cruel handling of them. At Burroughs's solicitation the king procured a letter to be written by his secretary to the authorities in Massachusetts, bearing date Sept. 9, 1661. This letter was put for transmission here into the hands of Samuel Shattuck, a Salem Quaker, who had been banished. The Quakers procured a vessel

commanded by one of them to bring it. On arriving here, the captain and Shattuck waited on Governor Endicott at his house with the royal letter. The governor is said to have replied: "We shall obey the king's command." But they did not. They in no whit changed the course they were then pursuing, but simply reinforced their measures. What was the king's command? It was in these words: "That if there were any of those people called Quakers amongst them, now already condemned to suffer death or other corporal punishment, or that were imprisoned, and obnoxious to the like condemnation, they were to forbear to proceed any further therein," and should transfer them to England for trial. Not a single condemned person was sent off according to this order. The magistrates may have thought that the king had more such subjects than on his own hands than he could dispose of. Glad as they would have been to be rid of the Quakers, this was not their way of relief. Nor was a single Quaker prisoner discharged, much less was there a general jail delivery. The court, meeting on November 27, with its usual adroitness and temporizing in dealing with foreign intermeddlings with its affairs, acknowledged the receipt of the royal letter, and, "that they might not in the least offend his Majesty," ordered and declared "that the execution of the laws in force against Quakers, as such, so far as they respected corporal punishment or death, should be suspended until the court took further order." This "further order" was taken by the court, Oct. 8, 1662, putting the existing and suspended law in full force, but restricting the whipping at the cart's tail to three successive towns in ridding themselves of a Quaker. Meanwhile the court, by messengers sent to England, represented to the king how they had been persecuted and tormented by the Quakers. This drew from the king a second letter, in which he wrote, under date of June, 1662: "We cannot be understood to direct, or wish, that any indulgence should be granted to those persons commonly called Quakers, whose principles being inconsistent with any kind of government, we have found it necessary, by the advice of Parliament here, to make a sharp law against them, and are well contented that you do the like there." So that the reinforcement of the existing laws by the court, in its order of October, after the receipt of this letter, had the king's sanction.

3. The king refers to the "sharp law" which he and his Parliament had felt compelled to pass against the same troublers. This brings us to the third question, How did he

and the laws of his kingdom treat the Quakers? Besides all the outrages inflicted upon them already referred to, Parliament, May 2, 1662, passed this law: "All Quakers or other persons refusing to take an oath required by law, or persuading to such refusal, or maintaining by speech or print the unlawfulness of oaths, and in particular all Quakers meeting for worship to the number of five or more, to be fined five pounds for the first offence, and ten pounds for the second; or failing to pay such fines, to be imprisoned with hard labor for three months for the first offence, and six months for the second. Offenders on a third conviction to be banished to the plantations." Masson (*Life of Milton*, vol. vi. p. 259) says that under this law "cargoes of Quakers and others had been exported to the black ends of the earth." The king could hardly desire that the plantations should send them back to him again.

From these facts and dates it appears that the Quakers here were not at all indebted to royal interference in their behalf for relief, nor for any change in the mode of treatment of them other than had been in progress by the working of public sentiment in the colony. The magistrates of Massachusetts, in following their consciences and the guidance of their own best judgment, unwise as that seems to us, as to their own protection and interests, were not in the habit of succumbing to any foreign interference or dictation in their affairs. I can recall no single instance in which, while they kept their charter, they yielded to advice even, much less to authority, from abroad. While the temper of some of the magistrates was aggravated by the insolence and indecorums of the Quakers, their dogged pluck and patience, their elation of spirit and unresisting submission, wrought their due effect upon the majority of the people. Thus even an austere Puritan community yielded to the softening sway of gentle patience under suffering. As resentment, violence, and cruelty on the part of the authorities gradually relaxed in bitterness, the Quakers gave over their antics and extravagances, and in time, under the pleadings of such as the wise and good Barclay, became known as the most inoffensive, exemplary, and respected of all religious fellowships. On this matter we might prefer the fiction to the fact, the poetry to the prose. But the prose is history.\*

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\* See below, p. 387. — Eds.

The Rev. R. S. STORRS, D.D., of Brooklyn, New York, a Corresponding Member, and the President of the Long Island Historical Society, then spoke briefly in acknowledgment of a welcome extended to him by the President, dwelling on the fact that such societies as these exist not only to build our American Walhallas, temples of silence and reconciliation, but have a specially important function, because no other history brings barbarism and civilization side by side as does ours, none other so clearly shows the development from small beginnings to vast results, and the working of the Divine plan in the progress of the race. He spoke also of the Long Island Society, which has inherited some of the impulses of this Society and of this Commonwealth, transplanted into another soil.

Dr. OLIVER presented to the Library, in behalf of the owner, a volume of rare interest, being the family Bible of the Rev. Increase Mather, and said :—

I received not very long ago, Mr. President, from a lady, now resident in New Jersey, a volume of not a little historic interest, with the request that at some time it should be presented to this Society. This volume, now upon the table, has a twofold value. It is a tolerably well-preserved copy of one of the later editions of the Geneva Bible, known sometimes by the not altogether reverent title of the "Breeches Bible," printed in 1599; but what gives it a special local interest is the fact that it was once the family Bible of Dr. Increase Mather, and contains a record in his own hand of his marriage and of the births and baptisms of his children; at the head of which stands the name of his distinguished son, the author of the "Magnalia," with the following memorandum :—

"My son Cotton was born at Boston in N. E. ye 12 day of ye 12 moneth, a quarter of an hour past 10, before noon, being ye fifth day of ye weeke 1663. He was baptized at ye old church in Boston by Mr Wilson 15 day of yt same moneth."

It appears from an inscription on the titlepage that this Bible was given to Mrs. Mather by her father, John Cotton; and it may be inferred, from the date of its issue, that it was in his possession some time before he parted with it.

It was given by Dr. Mather subsequently (May 22, 1697, as is stated upon the fly-leaf) to his daughter Jerusha; who leaving no issue, it passed into the hands of his daughter Elizabeth, whose first husband was William Greenough, and

who afterward married Josias Byles. From Mr. Byles it descended to his son, the first Dr. Mather Byles, then to the second Dr. Mather Byles, afterward to his son Belcher, and at last to his daughter Sarah Louisa Byles, who now presents it to this Society.

There are various memoranda upon the fly-leaves and covers made by a later hand. The following, relating to the setting apart a tract of land for a farm for Mr. John Cotton by the inhabitants of Boston in 1635, is in the handwriting of Increase Mather:—

14<sup>th</sup> 10<sup>m</sup> At a publick meeting of ye Inhabitants of Boston —

1635

It is agreed yt Mr W<sup>m</sup> Coleburn Mr W<sup>m</sup> Aspinwall, Mr Jno Sanford, W<sup>m</sup> Balstone & Richard Wright, or four of them, shal lay out at Muddy River a sufficient allotment for a farm for our Teacher, Mr John Cotton.

1<sup>o</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> mo. At a meeting of ye Select men of Boston —

1636

It was agreed yt our Teacher Mr John Cotton shal have unto his Lott at Muddy River all ye ground, lying between ye two Brooks, next to William Coleman's allotment there, and so to ye other end, unto ye shortest overcutt beyond ye Hill towards ye Norwest.

The thanks of the Society were voted to Miss Byles for her very valuable and acceptable gift.

Mr. ELLIS AMES communicated the following paper on the part taken by Massachusetts soldiers in the expedition against Carthagenia under Admiral Vernon, embodying hitherto unpublished excerpts from the provincial records obtained in recent years from the Public Record Office in London, with much material that failed to be noted by the historian Hutchinson.

War was declared by Great Britain against Spain on the twenty-third day of October, 1739, and early in 1740 the British Government fitted out an expedition against the Spanish dominions in America, consisting of twenty-nine ships of the line, with nearly an equal number of frigates, fire-ships, and bomb-ketches, manned with fifteen thousand seamen and accompanied by twelve thousand land forces, all plentifully supplied with arms, ammunition, and provisions.

The English provinces in America were called upon to furnish reinforcements, and however it may have been with



any other province than Massachusetts and Virginia, each of these provinces contributed five hundred men. The quota from Virginia was commanded by Lawrence Washington (the eldest brother of General Washington), who, during the expedition, became much attached to Admiral Vernon, the commander of the British fleet; and after his return home to Virginia he named the family estate "Mount Vernon."

Upon critically examining Governor Hutchinson's History of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, we find no allusion whatever to this expedition, which, as will be seen, was of very considerable importance to Massachusetts. The expedition accomplished little except making an attack upon Carthagená, the principal town on the Spanish Main, as it was called, in the province of New Grenada; and though the great fortification there upon the land was stormed and carried by a midnight assault, in which the Virginia and Massachusetts quotas took part, Carthagená was not compelled to surrender, by reason of the ravages of the yellow-fever among the troops and sailors.

Of the five hundred soldiers who enlisted from Massachusetts, only fifty lived to return. A critical investigation, even at this late day, would reveal the names of all of those who enlisted from Massachusetts, who had any social standing or reputation. We can name only two, however; one was Nathaniel Chandler of Duxbury, who never returned, but left a widow and seven young daughters in rather destitute circumstances, one of whom afterward was the mother of the Hon. Seth Sprague, Sen., of Duxbury, the father of the late Hon. Peleg Sprague, Judge of the United States District Court; and the other was Moses Thomas, the father of the Hon. Isaiah Thomas, the founder of the American Antiquarian Society, located at Worcester, and great-grandfather of the late Hon. Benjamin F. Thomas, one of the Judges of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts.

How it was possible for Governor Hutchinson to ignore Carthagená, as he was then twenty-nine years old, and knew every thing about it at the time, can be accounted for only by the consideration that he began to write his history a quarter of a century afterward, and that the records of the legislative and executive departments of the province, on which his work was largely based, could not, for the years 1740 and 1741, be found on this side of the Atlantic, when he wrote.

It is well known that the Town House in Boston, in which the General Court was then holding its sittings, was burned

Dec. 9, 1747, and that the General Court records from July 5, 1737, to Feb. 14, 1746, and the records of the Council Board in their executive capacity from 1692 to the end of February, 1746, were utterly destroyed by that fire, and Governor Hutchinson after 1747 could have had no help from such sources. Add to this that Governor Hutchinson was probably in trouble with the people of the province when he wrote this part of our history, and did not search so industriously for materials as he otherwise might have done.

Several years ago the second volume of our Provincial Statutes was sent to the Hon. Hugh Blair Grigsby, of Virginia, an Honorary Member of this Society, who examined the volume, among other purposes, to read the Statutes that he supposed must have been passed by our General Court, to authorize such a force as, he well knew, was sent from Massachusetts, together with that sent from Virginia, to assist at Carthagen; but except chapter 10 of the political year 1740, — see volume ii., page 1037, for an act passed Sept. 6, 1740, to prevent the soldiers then already enlisted from being arrested for debt, and page 1061, note or section 11, for a resolve passed May 30, 1740, giving a small bounty for each soldier who should enlist, — he could find nothing, and being rather disappointed he made inquiry.

Though about forty years ago copies of all records burned Dec. 9, 1747, were procured from the Public Record Office in London, nothing more than the above can be found in the General Court records respecting the expedition to Carthagen; but upon examining the records of the Council Board in their executive capacity (copies of which were also procured), from April 17, 1740, to Dec. 5, 1741, inclusive, *the mystery is solved*, and we hereto annex so much of the records of the doings of the Governor and Council of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay as relates to the expedition against Carthagen. By reading the records of these doings we see how war could be and then was carried on here without the representatives of the people taking much part in the business.

During the respective periods when George Bancroft, Edward Everett, and Abbott Lawrence were ambassadors to England, the deficiencies in our provincial records were supplied, certified not only by the proper officer of the Record Office, but by our respective United States ambassadors themselves, after we had been without them for a century or more. It was a standing law or rule of the British government that the moment the House of Representatives and Council Board of the province had adjourned, a copy of the

House Journal and of the doings of the Council, whether in its legislative or executive capacity, duly authenticated, should be sent to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, a committee of the King in Council.

In the Public Record Office in London the records of the House of Representatives and of the Council of the Massachusetts Bay, in both legislative and executive capacities, until the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, as drawn up and certified by the clerks who drew up the originals, remain to this day; and therefrom the people of Massachusetts have been enabled to perfect their records after the partial loss by fire on Dec. 9, 1747.

It is well known that this powerful fleet and army with provincial reinforcements was not beaten in battle, but was awfully shattered and disabled by the yellow-fever and other diseases incident to the climate, as stated by Smollett in the last volume of his works, which are in the library of this Society; but it is not out of place, perhaps, to quote a few lines from the poet Thomson, in the "Seasons," where, after stating the pestilence that reigns in summer in some climates, he proceeds and says:—

"Such as, of late, at Carthagenæ quenched  
The British fire. You, gallant Vernon, saw  
The miserable scene; you, pitying, saw  
To infant-weakness sunk the warrior's arm,  
Saw the deep-racking pang, the ghastly form,  
The lip pale-quivering, and the beamless eye  
No more with ardor bright; you heard the groans  
Of agonizing ships, from shore to shore;  
Heard, nightly plunged amid the sullen waves,  
The frequent corse; while on each other fixed,  
In sad presage, the blank assistants seemed,  
Silent, to ask, whom Fate would next demand."

We conclude these remarks by annexing the report of the Committee of the General Court appointed soon after the burning of the records, above referred to, in what they there called their "Court House," which report the committee made December 11; after which we annex a copy of so much of the records of the doings of the Governor and Council Board of this province in its executive capacity between and including April 5, 1740, and Dec. 5, 1741, as relates to the war with Spain.

FRIDAY, DEC. 11, 1747.

The committee appointed to consider what may be proper for this Court to do with respect to the circumstances the public affairs of the province are brought into by the late burning of the Court House, &c.,

report as their opinion that the Secretary be directed forthwith to get the duplicate of the General Court books, now in his hands, fairly transcribed, and when finished that they be kept in a separate place from said duplicate. That forasmuch as the said duplicate reaches no further than the 5th of July, 1737, the agents of this province in London be directed to procure, if possible, from the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, the copies of the said General Court books from the said 5th of July, 1737, to the 14th of February last, now lying in their office, the said agents leaving copies thereof in the said office, to be drawn in the cheapest manner they can, by employing some other persons than the clerks of that office, if that may be allowed. But if the said copies now lying in that office cannot be obtained, that then the copies taken from them as above, being first examined and attested by the said agents, be bound up in three volumes, leaving in each book a number of leaves for a table, and transmitted hither as soon as may be. That the agents be also directed to inquire into the state of the Minutes of Council of this province from the year 1692, to the end of February last (supposed to lie in the said Plantation Office) whether they are complete; and if so at what expense they may be procured; and inform this Court as soon as may be.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, on Thursday the 17th of April, 1740.*

## PRESENT :

His Excell <sup>y</sup> Jon <sup>s</sup> Belcher, Esq <sup>r</sup> , Gov <sup>r</sup> .					
William Dummer,	} Esq <sup>r</sup> .	Fra. Foxcroft,	} Esq <sup>rs</sup> .	Richard Bill,	} Esq <sup>rs</sup> .
Edw <sup>d</sup> Hutchinson,		Jos <sup>s</sup> Willard,		Dan <sup>l</sup> Russel,	
John Osborne,		Jacob Wendell,		Sam <sup>l</sup> Danforth,	
Ezekiel Lewis,		Ant. Stoddard,			

His Excellency communicated to the Board two letters he had received from His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, one containing orders from His Majesty for publishing His Majesty's declaration of war against Spain, the other containing His Majesty's order and encouragement for raising volunteers to join the land forces under the command of my Lord Kathcart in an expedition against the Spaniards in America; as also a letter from Coll<sup>o</sup> Spotswood (who was appointed to command the forces to be raised in America) upon the affair of the said expedition: which being considered,

His Excellency appointed Monday next, at ten o'clock in the fore noon, for the publishing His Majesty's declaration of war against Spain, and

*Ordered,* That the regiment of the militia of the town of Boston and the troop of guards should attend the solemnity.

And the Secretary was directed to prepare the draught of a proclamation for enlisting volunteers against that time.

Letters from the Duke of Newcastle received.

Letter from Colonel Spotswood read.

Declaration of war with Spain to be published.

Proclamation for volunteers to be prepared.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, on Saturday,  
April 19, 1740.*

## PRESENT:

His Excell <sup>y</sup> Jon <sup>a</sup> Belcher, Esq <sup>r</sup> , Gov <sup>r</sup> .					
William Dummer,	} Esq <sup>rs</sup> .	Fra. Foxcroft,	} Esq <sup>rs</sup> .	Richard Bill,	} Esq <sup>rs</sup> .
Edw <sup>d</sup> Hutchinson,		Jos <sup>a</sup> Willard,		Dan <sup>l</sup> Russel,	
John Osborne,		Jacob Wendell,		Sam <sup>l</sup> Danforth,	
Ezekiel Lewis,		Ant. Stoddard,			

The Secretary reported the draught of a proclamation to encourage the enlisting of soldiers for an expedition against the Spaniards in America, which was approved of, and

Proclamation to encourage the enlisting of volunteers.

*Advised*, That His Excellency issue the same accordingly.

*Voted*, That Jacob Wendell, Anthony Stoddard, and Richard Bill, Esq<sup>rs</sup>, be a committee to provide proper places for the reception of the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Coll. Spotswood and Coll. Blakeney, who are soon expected here upon His Majesty's especial service, and that they wait on those gentlemen at their arrival, and conduct them to their lodgings.

Committee to provide for Colonel Spotswood and Colonel Blakeney.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Monday,  
April 21, 1740.*

## PRESENT:

His Excell <sup>y</sup> Jon <sup>a</sup> Belcher, Esq <sup>r</sup> , Gov <sup>r</sup> .					
Will <sup>m</sup> Dummer,	} Esq <sup>rs</sup> .	Eben <sup>r</sup> Burrill,	} Esq <sup>rs</sup> .	John Cushing,	} Esq <sup>rs</sup> .
Edw <sup>d</sup> Hutchinson,		Jos <sup>a</sup> Willard,		Rich <sup>d</sup> Bill,	
John Osborne,		Ant <sup>o</sup> Stoddard,		Dan <sup>l</sup> Russell,	
Ezekiel Lewis,		Thomas Berry,		Sam <sup>l</sup> Danforth,	
Fra. Foxcroft,		Benj <sup>a</sup> Lynde,			

This day, according to order, His Majesty's declaration of war against Spain was published in the following manner:—

His Majesty's Declaration of War against Spain published.

About eleven o'clock in the forenoon, His Excellency the Governor (attended by the troop of guards and two foot companies of militia), with the members of His Majesty's Council, justices of the peace, and other officers and gentlemen, walked from the Province House to the Council Chamber, and the town regiment of militia and troop of guards being drawn up in King Street, and a great number of spectators attending, His Majesty's declaration of war was read in the balcony of the Council Chamber by the Deputy Secretary, and from him published with an audible voice by Mr Richard Hubbard, door-keeper, &c., which was followed with huzzas and three volleys from the regiment and troop of guards, and the discharge of the cannon at Castle William and the batteries.

And then His Excellency's proclamation for encouraging the enlisting of volunteers, &c., was published out of the balcony.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Thursday, June 12, 1740. Sitting the General Assembly.*

## PRESENT:

His Excellency Jon <sup>a</sup> Belcher, Esq <sup>r</sup> , Gov <sup>r</sup> .		
John Turner,	John Jeffries,	Benj <sup>a</sup> Lynde,
Edw <sup>d</sup> Hutchinson,	Jos <sup>a</sup> Willard,	John Cushing,
Jon <sup>a</sup> Remington,	Iac. Wendell,	Nath <sup>l</sup> Russel,
John Osborne,	Ant. Stoddard,	Sam <sup>l</sup> Danforth,
Eben <sup>t</sup> Burrill,	Samuel Welles,	Shubal Gorham,
Ezekiel Lewis,	Jerem <sup>a</sup> Moulton,	Richard Bill,
Fra. Foxcroft,	Thomas Berry,	Daniel Russel,
Samuel Came,	Joseph Wilder,	Will <sup>m</sup> Brown,

His Excellency communicated to the Board a letter he had received from Captain Francis Percival, commander of His Majesty's ship the "Astrea," and desiring he may have a supply of seamen from this government to make up his complement. Whereupon

*Advised,* That His Excellency issue a warrant to Edward Winslow, Esq<sup>r</sup>, Sheriff of the County of Suffolk, to impress twenty seamen, not being inhabitants of this province, nor belonging to any outward-bound vessel, fishing-vessel, or coaster, for the recruit of His Majesty's said ship, the "Astrea."

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, Saturday, June 21, 1740. Sitting the General Assembly.*

His Excellency having communicated to the Board a letter he had received from Capt<sup>a</sup> Francis Percival, desiring that riggers, seamen, and sailmakers may be impressed for refitting His Majesty's ship, the "Astrea,"

*Advised,* That His Excellency issue out a warrant for impressing four riggers, two sailmakers, and six seamen (the number desired by the said Capt<sup>a</sup> Percival), for the service aforesaid.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Saturday, June 28, 1740. Sitting the General Assembly.*

His Excellency having informed the Board that it is strongly suspected that a great quantity of Spanish goods and effects is clandestinely imported by a vessel from the Canaries, and that there are some of the subjects of the King of Spain now in this time of war about this town; and His Excellency having communicated to the Board a letter from John Peagram, Esq<sup>r</sup>, Surveyor-General of His Majesty's Customs, moving that he would please to take such measures as may be necessary for discovering the said persons and goods, and for preventing the mischiefs that may arise; thereupon,

*Voted*, That Edward Hutchinson, Fra<sup>t</sup> Foxcroft, Anthony Stoddard, Samuel Welles, and Nathaniel Hubbard, Esq<sup>r</sup>., be desired to convent such persons before them as they shall think necessary, and make strict inquiry into the affairs aforesaid, and proceed therein so as may be most proper for the honor and safety of this government.

*Vote for examining persons about Spanish goods.*

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber upon Monday the 30th June, 1740. Sitting the General Assembly.*

*Advised*, That His Excellency issue out a warrant for impressing four riggers, six seamen, and two sailmakers, over and above those before ordered to be impressed for refitting His Majesty's ship, the "Astrea."

*Men to be impressed for the "Astrea."*

The Secretary having by His Excellency's order prepared the draught of a proclamation referring to His Majesty's instructions concerning the expedition against the King of Spain's dominions in the West Indies, dated April 2, 1740, which instructions His Excellency communicated

*Proclamation about the expedition advised.*

to the Board, the said Proclamation was read and approved of, and *Advised*, That His Excellency issue the same accordingly.

His Excellency sent for Capt<sup>n</sup> Francis Percival, commander of His Majesty's ship, the "Astrea," informed him that he had issued a warrant for impressing a number of riggers, sailmakers, and seamen, over and above the former, which he had requested to be sent on board His Majesty's said ship, in order to her speedy despatch, and assured him that this Government are greatly concerned that he should be as soon despatched as possible, and therefore already done every thing he has desired, and are ready to do every thing in their power that may be necessary for that purpose.

*Captain Francis Percival, ship "Astrea."*

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Friday, July 4, 1740. Sitting the General Court.*

The Secretary having by order of the Board prepared the draught of a letter to Capt<sup>n</sup> Francis Percival, relating to the proceedings of this Board, respecting the despatch of His Majesty's ship, the "Astrea," the said letter was approved of, and the Secretary directed to sign it, and send it to him accordingly.

*Letter to Captain Francis Percival voted.*

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Saturday, July 5, 1740. Sitting the General Assembly.*

Captain Francis Percival, commander of His Majesty's ship, having by his letter to His Excellency desired that the seamen to be impressed for him might be kept at His Majesty's Castle William till his ship be refitted, Capt<sup>n</sup> Percival and Lieut<sup>t</sup> John Larrabee were sent for, and His Excel-

*Proceedings as to the impressed seamen for the "Astrea."*



lency informed Captain Percival that he had been supplied with seamen before now, had he not signified that he could not yet take them on board, and Captain Larrabee was asked whether the men could be secured at Castle William. He said that there was no convenience to secure them there. However, His Excellency acquainted Capt<sup>n</sup> Percival that he would order twenty men to be sent on board his ship, and twenty more to be kept at the castle till he could receive them.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Monday, the 7th July, 1740. Sitting the General Assembly.*

His Excellency having communicated to the Board a letter from  
Letter from Captain Anthony Caverly. M<sup>r</sup> Anthony Caverly of Boston, offering to use his endeavors to raise a number of men for the intended expedition under my Lord Cathcart, and subsist them at his own charge till they shall be delivered to the General of the American troops, and to wait for his reimbursement from His Majesty; and praying for proper powers from His Excellency for enlisting men for that purpose, His Excellency asked the advice of the Council thereon.

And the matter being considered, the Council are of opinion that the method proposed by M<sup>r</sup> Caverly for enlisting men is not agreeable to His Majesty's instructions on this affair; by which the charge of our raising soldiers for this expedition and subsisting them until their arrival at their place of general rendezvous is devolved on this province; and this Government hath cheerfully made provision for defraying the charge thereof accordingly; and therefore that His Excellency's granting such power to enlist men is not consistent with the dispositions aforesaid.

His Excellency laid before the Board a list of a number of persons  
List of persons offering to serve as officers in the expedition laid before the Board. that have offered themselves to serve as officers in the intended expedition against the Spaniards under my Lord Cathcart.

And the following persons were named by His Excellency to be captains or commanders of companies (to be by them raised for this service) to be approved of by the Council, viz.: Capt<sup>n</sup> Daniel Goffe, Capt<sup>n</sup> Stephen Richards, Coll<sup>o</sup> John Prescott, Major Ammi Ruhamah Wise, M<sup>r</sup> Joshua Barker, and M<sup>r</sup> Timothy Ruggles.

And the matter was referred for consideration to Wednesday next.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Wednesday, July 9, 1740. Sitting the General Assembly.*

His Excellency having again nominated the six gentlemen named  
Captains for the present expedition named by the Governor and approved by the Council. on Monday last to be captains of companies to be by them raised for the expedition against the Spaniards, viz.: Capt<sup>n</sup> Dan<sup>l</sup> Goffe, Cpt. Stephen Richards, Coll<sup>o</sup> John Prescott, Major Ammi Ruhamah Wise, M<sup>r</sup> Joshua Barker, and M<sup>r</sup> Timothy Ruggles,

The Council *advised* to their being appointed captains accordingly. His Excellency likewise nominated M<sup>r</sup>: Tho<sup>s</sup>: Phillips, M<sup>r</sup>: John Furney, and M<sup>r</sup>: George Stewart to be captains or commanders of companies to be by them raised for the said expedition, and

The Council *advised* to their being appointed captains accordingly.

*Advised*, That His Excellency issue out a warrant to Richard Foster, Esq<sup>r</sup>, Sheriff of the County of Middlesex, for impressing twenty seamen for recruiting His Majesty's ship, the "Astrea," Captain Francis Percival, commander.

Warrant for  
impressing  
seamen for the  
"Astrea."

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Thursday, July 10, 1740. Sitting the General Assembly.*

His Excellency sent for the gentlemen (in town) who were appointed captains in the designed expedition against the Spaniards, and delivered them his orders for enlisting men, and beating for volunteers in the several regiments in the province.

Warrants to the  
captains to raise  
volunteers.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Monday, the 14th of July, 1740.*

His Excellency communicated to the Board letters he had received from the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Coll. William Gooch, commander-in-chief of the American forces in the expedition against the Spaniards, and from the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Coll: Blakeney, paymaster of the forces, relating to the measures to be taken with respect to the troops raised within this province.

Letters from  
Colonel Gooch  
and Colonel  
Blakeney.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Monday, the 21st July, 1740.*

*Voted*, That the soldiers enlisted for the present expedition appear before one of His Majesty's justices of the peace, and severally declare that they did at such a time voluntarily enlist in His Majesty's service in the expedition against the Spanish dominions in the West Indies under such a captain, and that they are ready to do every other thing that can be reasonably required of them to qualify them for His Majesty's said service and pay. And that the said justice note the time of such declaration, in order to give out certificates thereof to the captains; which certificates are to express the place of such soldier's birth, his age, and calling, as far as may be known.

Vote for  
volunteers'  
declaration.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Monday, the 28th of July, 1740.*

*Advised*, and consented that a warrant be made out to the Treasurer to advance and pay unto the following persons, viz.: Captain Daniel Goffe, Capt<sup>n</sup> John Prescott, Capt<sup>n</sup> Thomas Phillips, Capt<sup>n</sup> George Stewart, Capt<sup>n</sup> John Furney,

£540 for the  
subsistence of  
the companies.

Capt<sup>n</sup> Stephen Richards, Capt<sup>n</sup> Ammi Ruhamah Wise, Capt<sup>n</sup> Timothy Ruggles, and Capt<sup>n</sup> Joshua Barker, the sum of sixty pounds each in bills of the old tenor, in all five hundred and forty pounds, for the subsistence of their respective companies; to be paid out of the £17,500 appropriation.

Captain Ruggles  
and Captain  
Barker not  
paid.

*Whereas*, It is of great importance for the maintaining of virtue and religion among the forces to be raised in this province, for His Majesty's service in the expedition against the King of Spain's dominions in the West Indies, that chaplains be procured for the said forces,

Vote about  
chaplains for  
the troops in  
the expedition.

*Voted*, That the united ministers in the town of Boston be desired to make inquiry after such persons as may be most suitable and may be persuaded to undertake the said service upon such sufficient encouragement as this Government may give; and recommend to this Board two grave and prudent persons for this service.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Tuesday, the 29th of July, 1740.*

His Excellency communicated to the Board a letter he had received from Capt<sup>n</sup> Fra<sup>s</sup> Percival, commander of the ship "Astrea," informing him that His Majesty's said ship is fully laden, and that he had written to Capt<sup>n</sup> Pierce, commander of His Majesty's ship "Flamborough," at New York, to acquaint him thereof in order to his sending some ship-of-war to convoy him to Jamaica, and desiring that his letter to Capt<sup>n</sup> Pierce might be sent forward by express; and thereupon

Letter from Cap-  
tain Percival.

Advice for send-  
ing his letter to  
Captain Pierce  
by express.

Vote for the  
disposition of  
His Majesty's  
commissions to  
the four first  
captains.

*Advised*, That His Excellency send the said letter by express.

His Excellency having informed the Board that he had received four sets of His Majesty's commissions for the officers of four companies of volunteers raised within this province, for the expedition against the Spaniards,

*Advised*, That His Excellency deliver the captains' commissions to the following persons, and in the following order, it appearing that they are so entitled by the time of their completing their levies, viz.:—

1. Capt<sup>n</sup> Daniel Goffe. 2. Captain John Prescott. 3. Capt<sup>n</sup> Thomas Phillips. 4. Capt<sup>n</sup> George Stewart. And His Excellency delivered the said commissions to the above-named gentlemen accordingly.

And thereupon the said captains took the oaths appointed by Act of Parliament to be taken instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and repeated and subscribed the test or declaration in the said Act, together with the oath of abjuration.

The said cap-  
tains sworn.

*Advised*,

£20 to James  
Green.

and consented that a warrant be made out to the Treasurer to advance and pay unto James Green the sum of twenty pounds in bills of the old tenor, for his time and

expense in riding express to New York ; to be paid out of the £1,000 appropriation.

*Advised*, That M<sup>r</sup> James Woodside be placed in Capt<sup>n</sup> George Steward's company as his second lieutenant.

*Advice for the disposition of the lieutenants' and ensigns' commissions.*

*Advised*, That the following persons be appointed to the officers hereafter mentioned, viz. : M<sup>r</sup> William Foye, lieutenant, and M<sup>r</sup> George Wadsworth, ensign, in Capt<sup>n</sup> Daniel Goffe's company.

M<sup>r</sup> Jonathan Houghton, lieutenant, and M<sup>r</sup> William Partridge, ensign, in Capt<sup>n</sup> John Prescott's company ;

M<sup>r</sup> Josiah Flagg, lieutenant, and M<sup>r</sup> Christopher Goffe, ensign, in Capt<sup>n</sup> Thomas Phillips's company ; and

M<sup>r</sup> John Vryling, ensign in Capt<sup>n</sup> George Stewart's company.

And then His Excellency delivered to Lieut<sup>t</sup> William Foye, Lieut<sup>t</sup> Josiah Flagg, Ensign William Partridge, Ensign Christopher Goffe, and Ensign John Vryling, His Majesty's commissions for their said offices.

And then the said William Foye, Josiah Flagg, William Partridge, Christopher Goffe, and John Vryling took the oaths appointed by Act of Parliament to be taken instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, repeated and subscribed the test or declaration in the said Act, together with the oath of abjuration.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Thursday, the 14th August, 1740.*

*Advised*, That John Winslow, Esq<sup>r</sup>, be appointed a captain of a company of volunteers in the present expedition against the Spaniards, in the room of Capt<sup>n</sup> Joshua Barker, who has resigned.

*John Winslow, Esq., appointed a captain.*

Coll<sup>o</sup> William Blakeney having signified to His Excellency that those officers that could not have His Majesty's commissions here should have a certificate from His Excellency of their appointment,

*Form of a certificate of the captains approved.*

The Secretary prepared the form of a certificate for the captains accordingly ; which was read and approved of by the Board.

*Voted*, That the Secretary advertise in public prints His Excellency's pleasure that the officers and soldiers repair to their posts in order to a general muster and review of the troops raised for the present expedition on such day as His Excellency shall appoint.

*Advertisement to be made of a general review.*

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Monday, Sept. 8, 1740. Sitting the General Assembly.*

His Excellency, by the advice of the Council, appointed Joshua Barker lieutenant, and Nathaniel Eeles ensign, of the company of volunteers under the command of Capt<sup>n</sup> John Winslow, and delivered them their certificates accordingly, and thereupon

*Officers appointed for Captain J. Winslow's company and sworn.*

The said Joshua Barker and Nathl Eeles took the oaths appointed by Act of Parliament to be taken instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and repeated and subscribed the test or declaration in the said Act, with the oath of abjuration.

*Advised*, and consented that a warrant be made out to the Treasurer to pay unto Captain John Winslow the sum of four hundred and thirty pounds in bills of the old tenor, for the bounty of eighty-six men enlisted under him for the present expedition, pursuant to an order of the General Court; to be paid out of the £17,500 appropriation.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Wednesday, Sept. 10, 1740. Sitting the General Assembly.*

His Excellency having communicated to the Board the letters he had received from Coll. Blakeney, paymaster of His Majesty's forces for the expedition against the Spaniards, relating to the payment of His Majesty's subsistence to the officers and soldiers of the companies raised within this province, and desired the opinion of the Board thereon;

*Advised*, That His Excellency order the payment of His Majesty's subsistence to the said officers and soldiers according to the direction of the said letters, viz., the officers from the dates of their commissions or certificates, and the soldiers from the day of their enlistment to the twenty-fourth day of this instant September.

His Excellency having moved to the Board that a committee be appointed to assist him in paying His Majesty's subsistence to the forces raised for the present expedition,

*Voted*, That Edward Hutchinson, Francis Foxcroft, John Jeffries, Anthony Stoddard, and Saml Danforth, Esq<sup>r</sup>, be a committee for the purposes aforesaid.

*Advised*, and consented that a warrant be made out to the Treasurer to pay unto Captain John Winslow the sum of seventy pounds in bills of the old tenor, being the bounty allowed by the General Court for enlisting, to be paid to the remaining fourteen men not before paid; to be paid out of the £17,500 appropriation.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, on Wednesday, Sept. 17, 1740.*

*Advised*, That His Excellency order that the troops raised within this province for His Majesty's service in the expedition against the King of Spain's dominions in the West Indies receive His Majesty's subsistence or pay to the twenty-fourth day of October next.

The troops  
to receive His  
Majesty's to the  
24th of October.

Colonel  
Blakeney's  
letters read.

Advice referring  
to the payment  
of His Majesty's  
subsistence.

Vote for a com-  
mittee for pay-  
ing the troops.

£70 to Captain  
John Winslow.

£430 to Captain  
John Winslow.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Friday, the 10th of October, 1740.*

His Excellency communicated to the Board a letter he had received from M<sup>r</sup> William Bollan, informing him of a young Spaniard, who was entertained at Capt<sup>n</sup> Oliver's house at Chelsea, who, he supposes, was sent to make a discovery of the country and give intelligence.

*Vote for inquiring about a Spaniard at Chelsea.*

Whereupon, Edward Hutchinson and Anthony Stoddard, Esq<sup>r</sup>., two of His Majesty's justices of the peace, and members of this Board, were appointed to convent the said Capt<sup>n</sup> Oliver and the said Spaniard before them, and examine into the affair, and make report thereon to this Board.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, on Wednesday, Sept. 30, 1741. Sitting the General Assembly.*

His Excellency having informed the Board that a number of Spanish prisoners last night ran away with a large sailing-boat, being furnished with arms, and that there is great danger of their surprising some of our coasting vessels and doing much damage on the coast,

*Advice of Spanish prisoners deserting.*

*Advised,* That His Excellency send letters to the officers in the several port towns to inform them thereof for the safety of the coasting vessels, and that proper measures may be taken for seizing the said Spaniards.

*Proceedings thereon.*

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Thursday, Oct. 1, 1741. Sitting the General Assembly.*

*Advised,* That His Excellency direct Capt<sup>n</sup> Adam Cushing to search for Spanish prisoners among the islands in Boston Bay, and in the creeks near Hingham and Weymouth.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Friday, Oct. 16, 1741. Sitting the General Assembly.*

His Excellency laid before the Board the draught of a proclamation for encouraging the raising of recruits for His Majesty's land forces in the West Indies, under the command of the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Brigad<sup>r</sup> General Wentworth, which was read and approved of, and thereupon,

*Proclamation to encourage the raising of recruits.*

*Advised,* That His Excellency issue the proclamation accordingly.

*Advised.*

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, upon Thursday, Oct. 22, 1741.*

His Excellency having signified to the Board that he is desired and empowered by the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Brigad<sup>r</sup> General Wentworth, commander-in-chief of His Majesty's forces in the West Indies, to draw bills of ex-

change upon the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> Henry Pelham, Esq<sup>r</sup>, paymaster-general of His Majesty's forces, for supplying Capt<sup>n</sup> John Winslow with money for raising recruits for the said forces in the West Indies; and His Excellency expressing his desire that the bills he shall draw for the said service be negotiated at the best exchange,

*Voted*, That Anthony Stoddard, Richard Bill, and William Foye, Esq<sup>s</sup>, be desired to make inquiry into the course of exchange between Boston and Great Britain, and what exchange may be just to allow upon the bills to be drawn as aforesaid; and that Captain John Winslow and Lieut<sup>t</sup> John Vryling be desired to be present with the gentlemen aforesaid when they transact this affair. Report to be made hereupon from time to time, as occasion shall require.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, on Monday, Nov. 2, 1741.*

The committee appointed to settle the exchange on the bills that may be drawn for raising recruits gave in the following report, viz.:—

We, the subscribers appointed for the purpose above mentioned, have made inquiry into the course of exchange between Boston and Great Britain, and upon consulting sundry of the principal merchants, find that four hundred per cent is the most that will be given for public bills, Captain John Winslow and Lieut<sup>t</sup> Vryling being present.

ANT<sup>o</sup> STODDARD.  
RICHARD BILL.  
WILLIAM FOYE.

Boston, Oct. 22, 1741.

The foregoing report was read and accepted, and voted that the exchange on the bills now to be drawn for the payment of His Majesty's troops raised within this province for the expedition against the King of Spain's dominions in the West Indies, be stated at four hundred per cent accordingly.

*At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, on Saturday, Dec. 5, 1741. Sitting the General Assembly.*

His Excellency having been informed that there was a Spanish privateer on the coast, Zebulon Witham was sent for, and declared upon oath what advices he had received from the Spaniards of a Spanish privateer ship designed for the coast of New England.

Mr. DEANE called attention to the Lynde diaries by the father and son of that name, who each filled the office of Chief Justice of Massachusetts, just printed privately by Dr. F. E. Oliver; and spoke of the light which they throw on the manners and customs of the period following the date of Judge Sewall's diary, which they fitly supplement.



Mr. G. B. CHASE spoke of the names to be found in the New England genealogies of persons who served in the Carthage expedition, and Mr. WINSOR added that there are many materials in the State Archives for that history, and spoke of some interesting local memorials, among them the inn, the Admiral Vernon's Head, which stood in State Street, near the old custom-house. He also mentioned some memorials of the Boston architect, Charles Bulfinch, now belonging to a descendant in Cambridge, including a gold medal on which is engraved the façade of the first Boston theatre, and portraits of Mr. Bulfinch and of Sheriff Greenleaf.

Colonel LEE mentioned that the person who collected and published the Sartor Resartus papers in 1838, to which reference was made at the February meeting, was Dr. Le Baron Russell of this city.

Mr. FOOTE communicated a manuscript furnished by Rev. James Freeman Clarke, D.D., of the Rev. James Freeman, D.D., rector of King's Chapel, 1787-1836, and Recording Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1793-1812. This manuscript is of interest from the fact that although Dr. Freeman was prominent in the theological history of New England, it is the only manuscript discourse from his hand which has survived. His important services to this Society as one of its founders and an officer during its first thirty-two years are partly recorded in the first volume of the Early Proceedings (1791-1855) *passim*. This document has value as a curious memorial of an interesting public occasion in Boston, in the solemn and festive celebration of the defeat of Napoleon's plans by the disastrous failure of his Russian campaign. At the time the strong Federal sentiment of this city found expression in services which were held at King's Chapel, and in a public banquet. These were described in the "Columbian Centinel" of March 27, 1813, by Major Russell in an animated account, as follows:—

Impressed with these sentiments and feelings, a great number of the inhabitants of Boston associated for the purpose of solemnizing the glorious and important events which the Almighty has vouchsafed to bring to pass in Russia.

Having selected a committee of arrangements, consisting of the most respectable citizens, Thursday, the 25th instant, was set apart for this solemn and important festival. Intending, conformably to their impressions, to give as much solemnity and dignity to the proceedings as possible, and at the same time to afford to persons of both sexes an opportunity to join in their acknowledgments of the Divine

goodness, it was determined to have a public religious celebration of thanks.

For this purpose an oratorio was prepared to be performed in the Chapel. The solemnities consisted of appropriate airs, recitations, and choruses by a band of nearly two hundred amateurs. The ill-timed exercise of the despotic power given to the executive over aliens, directed possibly in its application in this case by the malice of party feelings, deprived the public of the services of Dr. Jackson, who was to have superintended the musical performances.

This measure, intended perhaps to diminish the enjoyment, probably served to heighten it. It infused an alacrity, zeal, and animation into the performers which enabled them to surpass any thing which had before been attempted in this town. Certain it is that no audience ever testified more heartfelt delight. The Hallelujah Chorus, more especially, produced an elevation of sentiment and feeling which can never be communicated to those who were not within the reach of its electrical effect.

The Rev. Mr. Channing offered up a prayer, perfectly adapted to the solemn occasion, and expressed with that fervor and devotional zeal for which he is so much distinguished. It united the elegance, and what the French call the *onction* of Fénelon, with the simplicity of the apostolic age. It breathed a generous spirit of independence, a humble sense of gratitude, and of submission to the Divine will, and a devout confidence in the continued overruling wisdom and goodness of God. For the liberated it offered up our fervent thanks, and even for the vanquished invaders it manifested a charity well becoming an ambassador of the Prince of Peace.

The selections from Scripture, which were read by the Rev. Dr. Freeman, were so extremely appropriate, were made with such felicity, that a person unacquainted with the sacred writings would have supposed they were the history of important events of the past year. They were read with great propriety; and there was a burst of feeling and eloquence when he pronounced the Hallelujah, which must have thrilled through every heart. A considerable portion of the passages read by him were selected from Isaiah, Joel, and Daniel. We subjoin one or two which we think we recollect; and their wonderful correspondence with the late events in Russia we leave the public to judge.

At four o'clock the subscribers to the festival, together with their invited guests, assembled at the Exchange Coffee House. The rooms were filled to repletion, and the great hall was unable to accommodate all the guests, and several dined in an adjacent room.

The Hon. Harrison G. Otis presided, assisted by Dr. John Warren, Hon. Wm. Brown, Hon. Israel Thorndike, Jonathan Hunnewell, Oziab Goodwin, Peter Osgood, and Samuel G. Perkins, Esquires, as Vice-Presidents.

Among the invited guests were the Russian and Spanish Consuls, the Hon. Messrs. Pickering, Lloyd, and Quincy; the President of the University, and many of the Clergy of this and other towns; the

Judges of the Supreme Judicial Court; the Hon. Generals Cobb, Heath, and Brooks; the Selectmen of Boston; the Secretary and Treasurer of the State; and several strangers of distinction. The Hon. Mr. Gore, General Heath, and Judge Paine sent notes regretting that ill health prevented their attending, and expressing their high gratification at the successes of the Russians in driving back the invaders of their homes and firesides.

The blessing of Heaven was craved by the Rev. President Kirkland, and thanks returned by the Rev. Dr. Lathrop.

The feast was not less distinguished for the good order, regularity, and innocent gayety which prevailed than the religious ceremonies had been for their solemnity and devotion. Every thing evinced the heartfelt pleasure which the succession of glorious events in Europe had inspired; and perhaps this pleasure was enhanced by the hope that these events would at least awaken our infatuated rulers to a sense of their errors, and would be considered by them as the "handwriting on the wall," intimating their approaching ruin, unless they accelerate a peace, — a peace which they know they can at any moment command, on terms honorable and advantageous.

Before the first toast, the Hon. Mr. Otis addressed the company in a speech replete with sound sentiments, expressed with that felicity both of style and manner of which those only can form an adequate idea who have been the witnesses of his eloquence. After some time, the Russian Consul, fearful that he should not be able to deliver himself in a foreign language with sufficient distinctness, requested the President to read an address of thanks which he had prepared. It is expressed with great sensibility, and does honor to Mr. Estaphieve's head as well as heart.

Of the Odes, which were unusually numerous, we shall say nothing, not because we are not justly proud of them, but because, as they are to be all laid before the public, we do not wish to anticipate their judgment.

The following were the regular

#### TOASTS.

1. Alexander the Great, Emperor of all the Russias. He weeps not for the conquest of a new world, but rejoices in the salvation of the old. [Russian March.]

2. Our National Rulers. May the people see in them now what history must say of them hereafter.

3. The Russian Nation. Who have cancelled their obligations to the South of Europe for arts and sciences, by teaching them how to preserve their freedom. [After this toast an original ode, "All hail to thee, Russia," &c., was sung.]

4. The Russian Armies. Too brave for the arms and too loyal for the arts of France; may their virtues be as readily imitated as admired.

5. Governor Strong. May the affections of the people be fixed as firmly on him as are his affections on their best interests.

6. The Prince of Smolensk. The victor of that temperate man who

found Egypt too hot and Russia too cold. [After this toast an original ode, "The Czar of all the Russias," &c., was sung, and an elegant portrait of the Emperor Alexander was exhibited in transparency at the head of the Hall.]

7. The Patriots of Spain and Portugal. May their triumphs be greater than their sufferings, and as glorious as their cause.

8. The Madman of France. The Russian regimen—iced-water and phlebotomy—till reason be restored. [Original ode, "When Gallia's Chief," &c.]

9. Our Navy. The brilliant star of glory, shedding its beams on the disastrous night of this once favored land.

10. Moscow. Its flames illuminated the path of oppressed nations to freedom, and that of their oppressors to destruction.

11. The Memory of Washington. Rendered more precious by the errors and follies of the present times. [Dirge.]

12. The Contemtable Cavalry of the Cossacks rendered formidable by circumstances. (See the twenty-ninth Bulletin.) [Original song, "When Bony set out," &c.]

13. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts. May the fire of its patriotism, like the flames of Moscow, expel what is French, and burn southward and westward, until it consumes all but native influence. [Original ode, "Hail, Russia, may thy conqu'ring band," &c.]

14. The French People. May they be delivered from oppression, and be too happy in their own to visit other countries.

The hall was decorated with great taste. When "The Emperor of Russia" was given as a toast, a curtain was drawn which disclosed a transparent likeness of Alexander in full uniform, with this motto: "Alexander—the Deliverer of Europe."

When a toast in honor of Moscow was announced, another transparency was unveiled, representing Moscow in flames, and with this inscription, selected from one of the odes:—

"The self-devoted city burns,  
And Heaven accepts the sacrifice;  
While, borne on Flames from sacred urns,  
The Nation's vows ascend the skies."

From the flames the Russian Eagle was seen ascending, bearing in his beak a scroll: "Moscow is not Russia."

Amidst the tasteful and fanciful decorations, the names of all the heroic commanders of the Russian armies were not forgotten, and adorned the columns, which bore also the names of Washington. Decatur, &c.

In short, the whole ceremonies of the day were appropriate to the occasion, and were not more than were due from a generous people to the vindicators of the rights of mankind,—the liberators of Europe; and were peculiarly proper towards an uniform friend of the United States, and one who has so lately (as is asserted by the friends of Administration) offered her mediation to restore to us that first of blessings, peace. We hope our Government, though we have little expectation of it, will manifest as much friendship for Russia and for us as Russia has done, by accepting this mediation, and entering into

a negotiation without any "courtly insincerity." Whenever such an event arrives, we will have another jubilee for a second deliverance.

Dr. Freeman's part in the exercises at the church was the reading of the Scriptures; but by the ingenious interweaving of appropriate passages from the Bible he transformed it into a vivid narrative of the events commemorated, so that to his Federalist audience it seemed an inspired commentary on the administrations of Washington and Adams, on the twelve years which had followed under Jefferson and Madison, and on the meteoric career of Bonaparte from Egypt to Russia. It culminated in the prophecy of peace. Tradition records that when the reader reached the passage from Revelation, "Hallelujah, for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth," although not given to emotion, he burst into tears.

The whole occasion was perhaps the most remarkable political celebration which has ever been held here, in its mingling of fervid passion and highly wrought religious feeling.

Dr. Freeman indorsed his manuscript:—

*Discourse delivered at Kingschapel before Two Thousand of the Citizens of Boston, Assembled to Celebrate the Russian Victories, March 25th, 1813.*

Men, brethren, and fathers, hear ye the words which I Acts 22. 1.  
now speak unto you.

We, who dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, Ps. 139. 9.  
through the good hand of God on us and our fathers, Ezra 8. 18.  
were brought into a land flowing with milk and honey, a Josh. 5. 6.  
land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that Deut. 8. 7.  
spring out of valleys and hills; a land of wheat and barley; a land wherein we eat bread without scarceness; we lack not any thing in it; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills we may dig brass. Blessed be the Ps. 72. 18.  
Lord God, who gave us a wise king, even Solomon, whose 1 Kings 4. 30.  
wisdom excelled the wisdom of all the children of the east country. He was wiser than all men, and his fame was in all the nations round about. In his days the righteous flourished, and abundance of peace. They that dwell in the wilderness bowed down before him. The king of the isles brought him presents; the kings of the continent offered him gifts. For King Solomon made a navy of ships, and he sent in the navy shipmen, that had knowledge of the sea, and they came to Ophir, and fetched thence gold in abundance. The people were many, eating and drinking and making merry; and they dwelt safely, every man under his vine and under his fig-tree, all the days of Solomon. Ps. 72. 7.  
Ps. 72. 9.  
1 Kings 9. 26.  
1 Kings 4. 20, 25

Exod. 2. 23.  
Exod. 1. 8.  
Gen. 49. 14.  
2 Sam. 15. 6.

2 Sam. 15. 54.

2 Sam. 15. 11.

Jud. 9. 6.

Jud. 9. 8.

Jud. 4. 3.  
Gen. 49. 13.

Rev. 8. 9.  
Rev. 18. 17.

Col. 2. 4.  
2 Peter 2. 14.  
2 Peter 18. 19.

1 Cor. 14.  
Ps. 81. 6.  
Dan. 7.  
Ps. 120. 7.

Is. 30. 1.  
Is. 31. 1.

Is. 30. 7.

Is. 30. 6.

Amos 3. 6, 8.

Deut. 1. 29.  
Is. 31. 8.

1 Kings 12. 13.

And it came to pass that after twelve years King Solomon died; and there arose up over the land a new king, of the tribe of Issachar, which knew not Joseph. He stole the hearts of the people. For it was so, that when any man came nigh him to do him obeisance, he put forth his hand, and took him and kissed him. He said, moreover, Oh that I were made judge in the land, that every man which hath any suit or cause might come to me, and I would do him justice. And with him went a great multitude that were called, and they went in their simplicity, and they knew not any thing. And they gathered together and made him their king. Like the trees, which went forth on a time to anoint a king over them, they passed by the olive-tree, the fig-tree, and the vine; but they said unto the bramble, Come thou and reign over us. And twelve years he mightily oppressed the children of Joseph and of Zebulun, who dwelt at the haven of the sea. And the third part of the ships were destroyed. And every shipmaster, and all the company in ships, and sailors, and as many as trade by sea, stood afar off, and cried, weeping and wailing, saying, Alas! alas! that great city; for in one hour is she made desolate! But with enticing words he beguiled unstable souls; for he promised them liberty, while they themselves are the servants of corruption. And he spake great swelling words of vanity in an unknown tongue; and the people heard a language that they understood not. And he made war on the king of the isles, albeit many were for peace; but when they spoke of peace, he was for war. And he put his trust in the shadow of the king of the south. But the prophets, and the wise men, and the old men cried unto him, and said, Wo to them who go to the king of the south for help, and trust in his shadow. For he shall help in vain and to no purpose: therefore have we cried concerning this, Your strength is to sit still. The land of the south is the land of trouble and anguish, from whence come the young and old lion, the viper, and fiery, flying serpent; they will carry away your riches upon the shoulders of young asses, and your treasures upon the bunches of camels. But the ruler answered and said, The lion hath roared, who will not fear? the trumpet hath blown, and shall not the people be afraid? But the prophets and wise men said, Dread not, neither be afraid of the king of the south. For his people are men, and not God; and their horses flesh, and not spirit: when the Lord shall stretch out his hand, both he that helpeth shall fall, and he that is holpen shall fall down, and they shall all fail together. Howbeit, the ruler forsook the old men's counsel; but even as they had forewarned, so it came to pass.

Now the king of the south ruled on the other side of the great sea. He was a king of a fierce countenance, and his power was mighty; and he destroyed wonderfully, and prospered, and destroyed the mighty. And through his policy also he caused craft to prosper in his hand; and by peace he destroyed many. And he did according to his will, and he exalted himself and magnified himself above every god, and spake marvellous things against the God of gods. Neither did he regard the God of his fathers, nor regard any god; for he magnified himself above all. But in his stead he honored the god of forces, or the god of wars and fortune, a god whom his fathers knew not. The ships of Chittim alone stood against him, therefore was he grieved, and returned from Egypt, and was filled with rage. Nevertheless he prospered till the indignation of heaven was accomplished; and the fear of him and the dread of him fell on all nations.

And it came to pass, that after he had smitten great nations and slain mighty kings, that his heart was lifted up, and his mind hardened in pride, and his mouth spake great things, and he said, Surely I shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces. And he, even the king of the south, was moved with choler, and assembled a multitude of great forces, and went forth to fight with the king of the north. And the king of the south sent messengers before him, saying, Thus shall ye speak to the king of the north, saying, Let not thy God, in whom thou trustest, deceive thee, saying, Thy city shall not be given into the hand of the king of the south. Behold, thou hast heard what I have done to all lands, by destroying them utterly, and shalt thou be delivered? Have the gods of the nations delivered them which I have destroyed, as Gozan, and Haran, and Rezeph, and the children of Eden which were in Telassar? Where is the king of Hamath, and the king of Arphad, and the king of the city of Sepharvaim, Hena, and Ivah? And the king of the north received the message, and went up into the house of the Lord, and spread it before the Lord. And he prayed unto the Lord, saying, O Lord of hosts, thou art the God, even thou alone, of all the kingdoms of the earth; thou hast made heaven and earth. Of a truth, Lord, the king of the south hath laid waste all the nations and their countries. Now, therefore, O Lord our God, save us from his hand, that all the kingdoms of the earth may know that thou art the Lord, even thou only. Then a prophet sent unto the king of the north, saying, Thus saith the Lord God, Whereas thou hast prayed to me against the king of the south, this is the word which the Lord hath spoken concerning him, The inhab-

Dan. 7. 2.  
Dan. 8. 23.

Dan. 11. 38.

Dan. 11. 30.  
Dan. 11. 33.

Deut. 2. 25.

Ps. 135. 10.

Dan. 5. 20.  
Dan. 7. 8, 23.  
Dan. 12. 10, 11.

Is. 37. 9.

Is. 37. 13.

Is. 37. 26.



Is. 37. 26.

itants of the north have despised thee and laughed thee to scorn, they have shaken their heads at thee. Whom hast thou reproached? and against whom hast thou exalted thy voice, and lifted up thine eyes on high? Thou hast said, By the multitude of my chariots am I come up to the height of the mountains, and I will cut down the tall cedars and the choice fir-trees; and I will enter into the height of the borders, and into the forests. I have digged and drunk water, and with the sole of my feet have I dried up all the rivers of the besieged places. Hast thou not heard long ago how I have done it, and of ancient times that I have formed it? Now have I brought it to pass that thou shouldest be to lay waste defenced cities into ruinous heaps. Therefore their inhabitants were of small power; they were dismayed and confounded; they were as the grass of the field and as the green herb, as the grass on the housetops, and as corn blasted before it be grown up. But I know thy abode, and thy going out and thy coming in, and thy rage against me, and thy tumult is come up into mine ears; therefore will I put my hook into thy nose, and my bridle into thy lips, and I will turn thee back by the way by which thou camest.

Rev. 12. 12.

Dan. 11. 25.

Dan. 10. 15.

Ps. 74. 6, 8.

Howbeit, the king of the south went on with great wrath, because he knew that he had but a short time. And he was stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army; and he overflowed and passed through the country and took many fenced cities. And he burned up the houses of God in the land, and brake down the carved work thereof with axes and hammers. But a voice was heard in the north, Blow ye the trumpet in your cities; sound an alarm on your plains and mountains: let all the inhabitants of the land assemble, for the day of darkness and gloominess is come, the day of clouds and of thick darkness, as the morning spread upon the mountains. The trumpet was blown, and all the inhabitants of the villages came to the help of the Lord,—to the help of the Lord against the mighty. They were a great people and strong; there hath not been ever the like. A fire devoured before them, and behind them the flame of their great city burned. The land was as the garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness. The appearance of them was as the appearance of horses, and as horsemen so did they run. They ran like mighty men; they climbed the wall like men of war; and they marched every one on his ways, and did not break their ranks. Before their face the people of the south were much pained; all their faces gathered blackness. And the destroying angel went with them and smote in the camp of their enemies an hundred and fourscore and five thousand,

Joel 2. 2.

Is. 37. 36.

2 Sam. 2. 8, 10.

and the residue were carried into captivity. And the Lord wrought a great victory that day; and the king of the north gave thanks unto God. But the king of the south gat him by stealth into his own city, as a man, being ashamed, stealeth away when he fleeth in battle. And he sent to gather together the princes, the governors, the judges, the treasurers, and the counsellors, and commanded them to worship the image which he had set up. But tidings out of the east and out of the north troubled him, therefore he determined still to go forth with great fury to destroy and utterly to make away many.

But be not dismayed, ye that fear God. For I have read the handwriting on the wall, and thus is it written, God hath numbered thy kingdom and finished it. And I have seen an angel come down from heaven, and he cried mightily, with a strong voice, saying, Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen. The kingdoms of this world belong unto God. Sing Hallelujah! for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth. Comfort ye, therefore, comfort ye my people, saith your God. Speak ye comfortably to the inhabitants of this land, and cry unto them, Your warfare is accomplished. God hath broken in pieces the oppressor. Blessed be the Lord who hath not given us as a prey to his teeth. The king of the south will not now take our sons to run before his chariot, and wise men will no longer be made drunk with his cup. And when the spirit of righteousness is poured upon us from on high, then will peace be extended to us as a river; our nation will not lift up sword against any nation, neither shall we learn war any more. God will restore our judges as at the first, and our counsellors as at the beginning; afterwards we shall be called the city of righteousness, the faithful city. For the peace of our country let us all devoutly pray, for they shall prosper that love it. Let us say, Peace be within thy walls and prosperity within thy palaces. For my brethren and companions' sakes I will now say, Peace be within thee.

Ps. 75. 1.

2 Sam. 19. 3.

Dan. 3. 2.

Dan. 11. 44.

Is. 41. 10.

Rev. 18. 1, 2.

Rev. 11. 15.

Rev. 19. 6.

Is. 40. 1, 2.

1 Sam. 8. 11.

Jer. 51. 57.

Is. 66. 12.

Is. 2. 4.

Is. 1. 26.

Ps. 122. 6.

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[The paper by Dr. Ellis, on "The King's Missive," read at this meeting, was printed in the "Boston Daily Advertiser" on the day after the meeting, and elicited from Mr. Whittier some criticisms which appeared in that journal on the 29th of March. To Mr. Whittier's letter Dr. Ellis replied in a communication printed the next day. A short answer by Mr. Whittier was printed in the same journal on the 31st, and a brief rejoinder by Dr. Ellis on the 1st of

April. It has seemed desirable to the Committee for publishing the Proceedings, to insert here the first two of these letters as an appendix to Dr. Ellis's paper. The proofs have been corrected by the writers, and Mr. Whittier has added a few notes to his letter as first printed, to which Dr. Ellis has furnished a brief reply at the end of his letter. In a note addressed to the Committee Mr. Whittier states that it has been his intention "at some time to prepare a full and exhaustive history of the relations of Puritan and Quaker in the seventeenth century."

*To the Editors of the Boston Daily Advertiser:—*

A friend has called my attention to a paper read by Dr. Ellis before the Massachusetts Historical Society upon the persecution of the Friends in New England of the seventeenth century, in which my poetic version of an incident of that period, the "King's Missive" to Governor Endicott, is criticised. It is not easy, in a poem of the kind referred to, to be strictly accurate in every detail, but I think the ballad has preserved with tolerable correctness the spirit, tone, and color of the incident and its time. At least, such was my intention. Certainly, I did not profess to hold up that reprobate monarch, Charles II., as a consistent friend of toleration, or of any other Christian virtue. The Quakers of his time knew him too well to attribute his actions to any other than selfish motives. They were never deceived by his professions of liberality, as Baxter and his friend, "old Mr. Ash," were, when they wept for very joy over his gracious words and promises. They sought to obtain from him some relief from their sufferings, and did so in a few instances, when it suited his caprice, or when the persecutors complained of happened to be Puritans.

The letter of the king commanded that further proceedings against the imprisoned Friends should be stayed, and that they should be sent to England for trial. To this Governor Endicott promised implicit obedience. The prisoners were released from the jail, and they and their friends outside were for the first time permitted to meet together in Boston, and praise God for their deliverance.\* That the persecution

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\* The missive was signed September 9. The Friends had to charter and prepare a vessel to carry it to Boston, and considerable delay must have been occasioned. The precise date of the vessel's sailing is not known, but it was probably about the 1st of October. It was six weeks on its passage, and probably arrived in Boston somewhere near the middle of November. The records of the General Court for November 29 show that the missive had been received, though the document itself is not recorded. They state "That we may not in the least offend His Majesty, the Court doth hereby order and declare that the execution of the laws in force against the Quakers, so far as they respect corporal punishment or death, be suspended until the Court take farther notice." On the 9th of December, an order from the court for the release of the prisoners was issued. A copy of this document is given in Besse's "Sufferings of the Quakers," and in the "History of the People Called Quakers," by the historian Sewel, whose careful statements made when many of the per-

did not cease is true. But ever after the hunted Quakers breathed more freely, and felt that the end of their long night of tribulation was near. That the prisoners were not sent to England was probably due to the fears of the governor and his advisers that their doings would not bear a legal investigation. The only way of evading the king's requisition was to have no prisoners in the jail! Drake's History of Boston, page 357, says: "An order was issued for the discharge of the Quakers then in prison. William Salter was the prison-keeper. There were a little previous to this twenty-eight persons lying in Boston jail, one of whom, Wenlock Christison, was under sentence of death."

In Bryant and Gay's History of the United States, vol. ii., page 197, it is stated that "William Salter, keeper of Boston jail, was at once ordered to release and discharge all the Quakers in his custody." In the Journal of George Fox it is said, in relation to this matter, that "the passengers in the ship and the Friends in the town met together, and offered up praise and thanksgiving to God, who had so wonderfully delivered them out of the teeth of the devourer"; and that, while they were thus met, "in came a poor Friend, who, being sentenced by their bloody law to die, had lain some time in irons, expecting execution." Dr. Evans, in his carefully compiled "History of Friends in the 17th Century," says: "The council issued an order to the keeper of the prison to set at liberty all the Quakers then in confinement." Page 250.

I think it will be seen that there *was* a "general jail delivery" in consequence of the king's command; that the Friends met together and thanked God for their deliverance, and that "one appointed to die," and who had lain in irons expecting death, was with them. It has been said that Wenlock Christison was released before Shattuck's arrival, in consequence of his "recantation." He recanted nothing. He stated only that he found a freedom in his mind to depart out of the jurisdiction, and that he did not know as he should ever come back. Mary Dyer left the colony under the same circumstances, and after a time felt herself called upon to return. It seems more than probable that Christison was not set at liberty until after the arrival

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secutors and persecuted were still living have never been contradicted. It is as follows:—

*"To William Salter, keeper of the prison in Boston.*

"You are required by authority and order of the General Court forthwith to release and discharge the Quakers who at present are in your custody. See that you do not neglect this.

"By order of Court,

"EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*"

"BOSTON, 9th of Dec., 1681."

That this order was not placed on record by the court is easily accounted for. The king's letter required that the prisoners should be sent to England with the charges against them and the proceedings of the court in the several cases. This would have revealed the court's usurpation of authority, and shown that the hanging and maiming were contrary to the colony's charter and the laws of England. The court released the prisoners without sending them to England, and left no record of their action to be used against them.

of the king's message, for he would not have been permitted to remain in Boston one hour after liberation, and it appears that he was with the little company who met together in praise and thanksgiving.

It is true, and for the credit of human nature it should be stated, that the cruel enactments for whipping, branding, selling into slavery, and death on the gallows, were distasteful to a considerable minority of the people of New England. Governor Winthrop of Connecticut remonstrated against the course of the Massachusetts authorities, as did also Saltonstall and Pike among the magistrates of the colony. But there is no evidence that the clergy, who were the instigators of these laws, faltered for a moment in their determination to enforce them, so far as their influence could be exerted upon the magistracy. Endicott, Bellingham, and Bradstreet needed no stimulus from them. There is not the slightest evidence that these men had abated one jot or tittle of their fixed determination to crush out and exterminate every germ of Quakerism. Nor can it be said that the persecution grew out of the "intrusion," "indecentcy," and "effrontery" of the persecuted.

It owed its origin to the settled purpose of the ministers and leading men of the colony to permit no difference of opinion on religious matters. They had banished the Baptists, and whipped at least one of them. They had hunted down Gorton and his adherents; they had imprisoned Dr. Child, an Episcopalian, for petitioning the General Court for toleration. They had driven some of their best citizens out of their jurisdiction, with Ann Hutchinson, and the gifted minister Wheelwright. Any dissent on the part of their own fellow-citizens was punished as severely as the heresy of strangers.

The charge of "indecentcy" comes with ill grace from the authorities of the Massachusetts Colony. The first Quakers who arrived in Boston, Ann Austin and Mary Fisher, were arrested on board the ship before landing, their books taken from them and burned by the constable, and they themselves brought before Deputy Governor Bellingham, in the absence of Endicott. This astute magistrate ordered them to be *stripped naked, and their bodies to be carefully examined, to see if there was not the Devil's mark on them as witches*. They were then sent to the jail, their cell window was boarded up, and they were left without food or light, until the master of the vessel that brought them was ordered to take them to Barbadoes. When Endicott returned he thought they had been treated too leniently, and declared that he would have had them whipped.

After this, almost every town in the province was favored with the spectacle of aged and young women stripped to the middle, tied to a cart-tail, and dragged through the streets, and scourged without mercy by the constable's whip. It is not strange that these atrocious proceedings, in two or three instances, unsettled the minds of the victims. Lydia Wardwell of Hampton, who, with her husband, had been reduced to almost total destitution by persecution, was summoned by the church of which she had been a member to appear before it to answer to the charge of non-attendance. She obeyed the call by appearing in the unclothed condition of the sufferers whom she had seen under

the constable's whip. For this she was taken to Ipswich and stripped to the waist, tied to a rough post, which tore her bosom as she writhed under the lash, and severely scourged to the satisfaction of a crowd of lookers-on at the tavern. One, and only one, other instance is adduced, in the person of Deborah Wilson of Salem. She had seen her friends and neighbors scourged naked through the street, among them her brother, who was banished on pain of death. She, like all Puritans, had been educated in the belief of the plenary inspiration of Scripture, and had brooded over the strange "signs" and testimonies of the Hebrew prophets. It seemed to her that the time had arrived for some similar demonstration, and that it was her duty to walk abroad in the disrobed condition to which her friends had been subjected, as a sign and warning to the persecutors. Whatever of "indecentcy" there was in these cases was directly chargeable upon the atrocious persecution. At the door of the magistrates and ministers of Massachusetts must be laid the insanity of the conduct of these unfortunate women.\*

But Boston, at least, had no voluntary Godivas. The only disrobed women in its streets were made so by Puritan sheriffs and constables, who dragged them amidst jeering crowds at the cart-tail, stripped for the lash, which in one instance laid open with a ghastly gash the bosom of a young mother!

It is a remarkable proof of the purity of life among the early Friends that their enemies, while exhausting the language of abuse against them, pointed to no instances of licentiousness or immoral practice. However enthusiastic or extravagant, they "kept themselves unspotted from the world." Woman, from the Quaker standpoint, was regarded as man's equal and beloved companion, like him, directly responsible to God and free to obey the leadings of the Spirit of Truth. From the rise of the society to the present time the peace, purity, and peculiar sweetness of Quaker homes have been proverbial.

The charge that the Quakers who suffered were "vagabonds," and "ignorant, low fanatics," is unfounded in fact. Mary Dyer, who was executed, was a woman of marked respectability. She had been the friend and associate of Sir Henry Vane and the ministers Wheelwright and Cotton. The papers left behind by the three men who were hanged show that they were above the common class of their day in mental power and genuine piety. John Rous, who, in execution of his sentence, had his right ear cut off by the constable in the Boston jail, was of gentlemanly lineage, the son of Colonel Rous of the British army, and himself the betrothed of a high-born and cultivated young English lady. Nicholas Upsall was one of Boston's most worthy and

\* It is absurd to urge the conduct of these crazed women as the cause of the severe laws against the Friends. These laws had been enacted and carried into execution long before the women in question attracted attention by their "signs." The preambles to the laws make no charge of indecentcy or turbulent and seditious behavior. The unpublished "Examinations of Quakers at ye Court of Assistants in Boston," on file at the State House, refer almost exclusively to the religious and doctrinal opinions held by the prisoners.

substantial citizens, yet was driven in his age and infirmities, from his home and property, into the wilderness.\*

If the authorities were more severe in dealing with the Quakers than with other dissenters, it was because they were more persistent in maintaining their rights of opinion. The persecutors were, on the whole, impartial in their intolerance. The same whip that scored the back of Holmes the Baptist, fell on that of Wharton the Quaker. The same decree of banishment was issued against Mary Dyer and Ann Hutchinson. The same jail door that was shut upon the twelve-year old Quaker girl, was closed also upon the learned and world-travelled Dr. Child, the Episcopalian.

The Friends have been accused of running upon the sword of the law held out against them, of glorying in persecution. This charge was urged against the early Christians. It was said of the Martyr Ignatius, on his way to Rome, that he longed to come to the beasts that were to devour him; that he would invite them to tear him; nay, should they refuse to do so, he would force them. The good Emperor Marcus Antoninus expressed his dislike of the Christian sect, because of their "obstinacy in seeking death." It must be owned that the persecuted Quakers were more afraid of violating conscience than unrighteous law. They held duty paramount to any other consideration. They could die, but they could not deny the truth. To such "obstinacy" the world is largely indebted. The religious freedom of our age is the legacy of the heroic confessors, who suffered and died rather than yield their honest convictions. It was Quaker "obstinacy" and sturdy endurance which opened the jails of England, crowded with Presbyterians and Independents, among them the great

\* It is safe to say that four-fifths of those who suffered in person or estate as Quakers were settled inhabitants of the colony. Among them were men of position and substance, such as Justices Shapleigh and Hatherly, Thomas Macy, one of the first settlers of Nantucket, and my maternal ancestor, Christopher Hussey, whose wife was the daughter of the first minister of Hampton. Nothing can be further from the truth than the charge that the Quakers were "vagabonds" and "vagrants." Not one shilling of Massachusetts money was ever expended for the support of a Quaker. From the rise of the society to the present day there was never a Quaker beggar, pauper, or "town-charge." They could not be justly termed "intruders." Quakerism in Massachusetts existed among the old citizens and freeholders before preachers of the sect from England visited Boston. Cotton Mather expressly declares that the sect began in Salem and not in England. Certain it is that a large number of the early inhabitants of that town suffered under the persecution. Wharton and Buffum were banished on pain of death. The Southwicks were ordered by the court to be sold as slaves. Years before Ann Austin and Mary Fisher came to Boston, Major Pike of Salisbury was fined heavily, deposed from the magistracy, and deprived of his right of citizenship for asserting the right of Joseph Peasley, one of the first Quakers of Eastern Massachusetts, to preach and exhort in his own house. During the heat of the persecution, no known Quaker emigrant was allowed to purchase real estate in Massachusetts. Elizabeth Hooton, an aged matron of ample means, petitioned the court for leave to buy and occupy an estate in Boston. Although she had a written order from the king that she should be permitted to settle in any part of his dominions, her request was not only refused, but, for the crime of making it, she was whipped, with indecent exposure, in Boston and on the College Green at Cambridge as a "vagabond."



names of Baxter and Bunyan. Baxter, who hated them with all the intensity of his nature, owns that the Quakers, by their perseverance in holding their religious meetings in defiance of penal laws and brutal mobs, took upon themselves the burden of persecution, which would otherwise have fallen on himself and his Presbyterian friends; and especially mentions with commendation the noble and successful plea of William Penn before the recorder's court of London, based on the fundamental liberties of Englishmen, secured by the great charter.

The inheritors of the name and religious opinions of the suffering Friends of New England have no wish to deprive the Puritan authorities of any proper extenuation or palliation of their severity. But in truth there is but one excuse for them, — the hard and cruel spirit of the age in which they lived. They shared its common intolerance. With the exception of the Friends and Baptists, every sect in Christendom believed in the right of the magistrate to punish heresy. There were indeed individuals, and among the noblest of the age, who sympathized with the persecuted Friends, and exerted themselves for their relief, — such men as Sydney and Vane, Milton and Marvel, Tillotson and Locke, Prince Rupert and Lord Herbert. But these were solitary exceptions.

For myself, I have always cheerfully admitted to its full extent this plea of universal intolerance, in extenuation of the New England ministers and magistrates. I do not doubt that they regarded the Quaker doctrine of the Divine Immanence as a fatal heresy. They could bring no charge of immorality against the men and women whom they whipped and hung. They could not charge them with taking up arms in rebellion, or countenancing in any way a forcible resistance to even unjust law. They could not deny that when left unmolested they were industrious and temperate, peaceable and kind neighbors and citizens.

The tendency of Quakerism to promote peace, good order, and worldly prosperity was proved by the fact that three of the colonies, Rhode Island, North Carolina, and Pennsylvania, under the Quaker governors, Coddington, Archdale, and Penn, were exceptional examples of peace, order, and progress.\*

Dr. Ellis has been a very generous, as well as ingenious, defender of the Puritan clergy and government, and his labors in this respect have the merit of gratuitous disinterestedness. Had the very worthy and learned gentleman been a resident in the Massachusetts Colony in 1660, one of his most guarded doctrinal sermons would have brought down upon him the wrath of clergy and magistracy. His Socinianism would have seemed more wicked than the "inward light" of the Quakers; and, had he been as "doggedly obstinate" as Servetus at

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\* In their address to the king, in excuse for the hanging of the Quakers, the General Court, under date of December 16, 1660, declare: "Had they (the Quakers) not been restrained, so far as appeared, there was too much cause to fear that we ourselves must quickly have died, or worse; and such was their insolency that they were not to be restrained but by death." What can be said of men who could set their seals to such a document designed to persuade the king that they killed the Quakers for fear the Quakers would kill them!

Geneva (as I do him the justice to think he would have been), he might have hung on the same gallows with the Quakers ; or the same shears which clipped the ears of Holder, Rous, and Copeland might have shorn off his own.

I can assure him that in speaking on this subject I have always honestly endeavored to do justice to both parties. In the ballad to which he refers I think I have done so. In "Margaret Smith's Diary" I have gone to the extreme in finding excuse for John Norton himself. I find no fault with Dr. E.'s championship of Endicott and his advisers. I only regret that, in attempting to vindicate them, he has done injustice to the sufferers, whom he seems to think were at least quite as much to blame for being hanged as Endicott was for hanging them. We who inherit the faith and name of these noble men and women, who gave up home and life for freedom of worship, have no desire to be complimented at their expense. Holding their doctrine, and reverencing their memories, we look back awed and humbled upon their heroic devotion to apprehended duty, and with gratitude to God for their example of obedience unto death.

JOHN G. WHITTIER.

AMESBURY, 3 mo., 22, 1881.

*To the Editors of the Boston Daily Advertiser : —*

I have read with interest the communication of Mr. Whittier criticising a paper of mine which appeared in your columns. I revert simply to the matter of historical fact involved. I find no occasion to qualify or retract any thing in the substance of my communication, but am prompted to illustrate and confirm it with a few remarks. The remarks in the Historical Society were not, save incidentally, as Mr. Whittier says, upon "the persecution of the Friends in New England," but upon his ascribing to a letter from King Charles II. a change in the dealing with Quakers which had already taken place from causes working here, as will appear. It had been a relief to me in reading that sad history to note the first relents of feeling. It seemed wrong to ascribe to Charles II. the credit of effecting the change. I had noticed in the published Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, of a meeting at which I was not present, that Mr. Whittier's beautiful ballad of the "King's Missive" having been read, the reading was "followed by some discussion of the historical accuracy of his description." Soon after, on perusing the poem, with its striking illustrations, especially that of the jail delivery, in the Memorial History of Boston, I was not surprised that those who were familiar with the records of our General Court questioned the fidelity of the poem to historic truth. The king's letter in its demand and in its effect did not correspond with the poetic representation. It did not require and it did not bring about a general jail delivery, but simply asked that one class of imprisoned Quakers should be sent to England, with the charges against them, for trial. Not one such was sent. Mr. Whittier thinks the magistrates were afraid

to send them. How far he is mistaken will appear by and by. The letter only suspended till the next court, but did not alter, the laws and proceedings of the magistrates, which they put in force afterward "in all respects," save only limiting to three the number of the towns through which a "vagabond Quaker" was to be whipped in getting him out of the jurisdiction. So far from being the medium of mercy to these Quakers, and resenting the neglect of his orders, the king wrote another letter the next year, in which he said: "We cannot be understood to direct or wish that any indulgence should be granted to those persons commonly called Quakers. We have found it necessary by the advice of Parliament here to make a sharp law against them, and are well contented that you do the like there."

I cannot follow my much-respected guide, Mr. Whittier, into a renewed discussion of a harrowing subject with which I have tried my utmost to deal with thorough impartiality in an article in the Memorial History. A single historical fact is now under debate. The main point which engaged my attention was that the mass of readers would infer from the poem that the ruthless and cruel course which the Massachusetts authorities had been pursuing against the Quakers, who so grievously tormented them, was, when it was in full force, arrested, not by any relenting of their own, or any protest of nearly the majority of the community, but by a peremptory interdict put upon them by the king. The court records are full in presenting the stages of the case. The jail delivery took place months before the king's missive was received. Juries were unwilling to convict capitally. A strong opposition stirred the popular heart. The only three Quakers under condemnation, to whom alone the king's *special* injunction applied, had expressed their willingness to go off, and had been released. The magistrates were always eager to be rid of Quakers in any way. The difficulty was to get rid of them. At any stage of proceedings against them, even when on the gallows, each and all of them were at perfect liberty to go off unharmed. Mr. Whittier thinks they had some special immunity or right to stay here among a rigid set of people, who claimed the privilege of holding to their own ways, under a charter which empowered them to drive out from their own domain any persons whose presence was unwelcome. The imprisonment of the Quakers was an occasion of great expense and anxiety to the magistrates. They would not work out their fees, and had to be fed. Their "railing and prophesying through the prison bars, by which they provoked and corrupted the common people," led to the impaling of the jail by a fence. Under these circumstances, twice before the king's missive was received, the magistrates had gladly made a general jail delivery of Quakers. But whatever Quaker authorities may say, there is no record on the court's book of any such delivery after it came. I cannot ascertain from the records how many—if, indeed, any—Quakers were in prison when the king's letter was received, so complete had been the voluntary clearances before it came. The Quaker authorities cited—though they are the most honest of narrators—are loose and unauthenticated. As to my acquaintance

with these Quaker authorities, who tell one side of the story admirably, I may be allowed to say that I hunted them all up in London, over forty years ago. I have them all, and have read them. I have also copied with my own hand all the papers relating to the Quakers in the state archives. Let me call the attention of my critic to one of these authorities, which he appears to have overlooked. It is in their earnest champion, John Whiting's "Defence of Truth and Innocency," &c., bound up with Bishop's "New England Judged." On page 96 we read of the Boston magistrates this charge: "After they had put to death four, and sentenced more, though the king had sent a gaol-delivery they did not regard it, the jailor telling Friends it was not for them." I cannot explain this, except by supposing that it refers either to some prisoners not coming under the class referred to by the king, or that some had returned who had been released by the real jail delivery, now to be noted. Bearing in mind that the king's missive was received here early in November, 1661, we turn to the records of the court, October, 1660, more than a year before, and read on page 433, "The court judgeth it meete to declare, that all the Quakers now in prison shall forthwith have their liberty to goe for England in this ship now bound thither, if they will," or elsewhere out of this jurisdiction, engaging not to return again without leave. This disposes of Mr. Whittier's suggestion that the court feared to have any of its victims go to England. Again, in the records of the court, June, 1661, five months before the arrival of the king's missive, on page 24, we read: "It is ordered that Wendlocke Christopher and all the Quakers now in prison be forthwith acquainted with the new law made against them and forthwith released from prison." In Bishop's "New England Judged," &c., on page 340, we have the names of those released in this jail delivery, twenty-eight in number. It was of the court that passed this order that Bishop, recognizing the relenting of the people, wholly independently of the king's intervention, writes thus: "The Lord mingled a spirit of confusion amongst you, that you were in a manner broken, and could not hold together to put to death the innocent." The records tell us of no other jail deliveries than these, both preceding the word from the king. One must be quite uninformed as to the exasperation which the magistrates had received from the Quakers who can suppose that a company would be let out from prison and allowed to hold a public jubilation meeting on the Common. Indeed, in replying to the king's missive, page 34, the court say that they had previously released all the Quakers, though some would stroll back again. They intimate that if the king had been aware how they had been tormented by the Quakers, he would not have interposed for them. It was in answer to this that the king gave them liberty to pass the "sharp law," above referred to.

Mr. Whittier, if he had pleased, might have added that the disgusting process to which the first two Quaker women were subjected was a judicial one, by commissioned officers, universally practised all over Christendom in that superstitious age and a half-century afterward, to detect tokens of suspected witchcraft. It simply shows what a dread

was felt here of specimens of a people, a report of whom in England had preceded their arrival. Could not Mr. Whittier have told his readers in a single sentence *why* the Quakers were treated so ruthlessly?

It is with extreme reluctance that I have candidly to say that those who plead for one side in this matter seem unwilling to allow that the Quakers were chargeable with any obtrusive, unfair, and provoking acts or words against the Puritans. No one would infer that they were in any wise different from those known by the name this day. Had the Puritans, not yet thirty years settled on this hard soil, trying a serious and anxious experiment, pledged in covenant to be of one mind and purpose, dreading sedition and disaster, — had they no rights to hold their own creed and follow their own ways? By what rightful claim could intruders come among them, alleging a divine mission, to rebuke, revile, and prophesy all manner of woes against them? Mr. Whittier is incapable of a taunt, but from any one else I should so regard what he writes of me, as a heretic standing for the Puritans. I do not love that sort of people. I could not endure a month of life with them and their ways. They would have found it very easy to have got rid of me. But that is no reason why I should not claim for them a right to have their side of their own story told. I stand for the truth of history about them, just as I would try to add up a column of figures correctly, even if it were a list of my own debts. Can it be possible that I detect in Mr. Whittier's communication a survival of the old spirit of "calling names!" The term "Socinian" has never been used here otherwise than as one of reproach. I never knew a Socinian. Certainly I am not one myself. I might as well have been called a Parsee, or a Muggletonian. I have never written a single sentence in *defence* of the Puritans, nor in *abuse* of the Quakers, but have sought to present both as they stand on the record. What Mr. Whittier so beautifully writes about as "the doctrine of the Divine Immanence held by Quakers," was not appreciated in the style which Quaker speech and behavior had for the Puritans. He says that I "seem to think that the Quakers were as much to blame for being hanged as Endicott was for hanging them." I might not put the matter in that way, but the most candid and deliberate judgment I can form on the sad episode is, that both parties were equally chargeable with wrong and folly. Mr. Whittier does, as he says, "inherit the name and faith of those people," but not their tongues nor their behavior. The presence of *our* Mr. Whittier would have been a God-send and a blessing to those old Puritans. But it would have been safer for me to have kept out of their way. He would not do or speak as some of them did and spoke. He says he has honestly endeavored to do justice to both parties. In all that I have written on the subject I have as honestly tried to do the same, and I belong to neither of the parties, though I see something to respect in both. And every one who writes on this subject belonging to neither party will always regret the stumbling-block for general and superficial readers found in the fact that the same name, Quaker, is applied to such persons as the

Puritans here had to deal with, and the mild, unobtrusive, and often lovable persons known to our generation. The worst epithet attached to modern Quakers is "sly." On our old records they appear as "seditious, slanderous, malignant, blasphemous," &c., &c.

Of course these hard words were used in the sense which the Puritans attached to them. But none the less they had an application. The vituperative capacity of the English language was drawn upon with equal freedom and force by both parties. Mary Dyer left her home in Rhode Island, as the piteous letter of her husband informed the magistrates, he knew not under what restless emotions of spirit, neglecting him and her home duties, to travel through the wilderness to Boston. She said that God sent her here to protest against the cruel laws. Of course the magistrates would not take her word for that, while her claim to special revelation and illumination for eccentric guidance was to them a most hateful pretence, as they believed themselves in covenant with God. They told her that they had passed their laws to protect themselves from the annoyance and risk of disaster and utter ruin, coming from her and others like her, in keeping their community under dread alarm. It is a distressing story. But I cannot assume either single side in the narration of it, though I hope Mr. Whittier will not doubt to which of them my sympathies go. Time and trial have left certified about an equal residuum of each of the two systems then in antagonism in principles of government, and in doctrinal and institutional religion.

GEORGE E. ELLIS.

NOTE BY DR. ELLIS. — I have read the notes which Mr. Whittier appends to his communication. If the matter in them seems to him to sustain his view of the respective courses of the Massachusetts authorities and the Quakers, in their collision, I certainly have no wish to discuss the new points which he introduces. It will be observed that they are wholly aside from and irrelevant to the one, sole, original point which engaged my criticism, namely, that the illustrated poem, "The King's Missive," attributed to the letter of Charles II. an effect not warranted by historic facts and the record. I have already declined to follow out the interesting though, as I have said, irrelevant matters of the controversy, in generals or particulars, having twice attempted that in papers now in print. Mr. Whittier quotes the order in which the court suspends proceedings till it "shall take farther notice." If he had continued his quotation from the Court Book, he would have shown that that "farther notice" was to put "the existing laws against the Quakers in full force, in every respect," in defiance of the king's letter. I was perfectly familiar with the order quoted from Besse, addressed "to William Salter," December 9, and know not how to regard it, otherwise than as "a sop." It is not on the court records, nor does it appear from those records that after the two discharges of Quakers before the receipt of the king's letter there were any of them in jail to be released after it. At any rate, the Quaker writer, John Whiting, says the jailer did not comply with such "order."

The magistrates regarded their charter as empowering them to inflict capital punishment and maiming, and they followed the law and practice of England in those penalties in many cases.

I can but stand amazed at Mr. Whittier's assertion that the colony laws made no charge of "turbulent or seditious behavior" against the Quakers. Those laws fairly bristle and sting with such charges. And this statement of the poet is to be taken in connection with his keen dart against the magistrates for pretending "that they killed the Quakers for fear that the Quakers would kill

them." The magistrates meant what their words imply, and were really under the panic which they describe. Will my much-respected friend allow me to ask of him that he will try — though his placid and liberal spirit may make it difficult to him — to recognize the thorough sincerity in belief, conviction, and purpose, the anxiety and peril in their exposed situation, and the hazards and dreads of the utter wreck of their stern enterprise, entertained by the colony magistrates? Had they nothing at risk? Had they no right of self-protection? A certain style of opinion was to them more alarming than an Indian with war-paint and tomahawk. It was because they regarded the Quakers as a turbulent and seditious people — wild fanatics, claiming inspiration for their assaults upon church and government — that they excited such dismay. Just as sincerely as the Quakers held to their principles did the magistrates believe that those principles would bring awful disasters and horrors on the infant colony. Has Mr. Whittier overlooked the epithets which the mild and tolerant Roger Williams used of the *behavior* of the Quakers, without any reference to their doctrines? Doubtless there were germs of some of the Quaker opinions, as also even of "Socinian" and various other forms of belief, in the colony before the rise of the sect known as Quakers in England. "Vagrants and vagabonds" as their etymology shows, are vague terms, as applied by the magistrates to the Quakers. Neither of the four who were executed was a "citizen or a freeholder" here. They were all in the eye of the law intruders.

The wild and seemingly frenzied doings of the Quakers in England had been made known by letters received here, before any of them came hither, and there was an intense dread of the arrival of such heralded nuisances as the fomenters of discord and mischief. The court had even appointed a Fast Day, among the occasions of which was expressly mentioned the rise and principles of the sect in England.

It will gratify very many persons to know that Mr. Whittier is to use his finely gifted pen for "a full and exhaustive history" of this distressing episode in our annals. But he will give us rather a poetical than a prose composition if he maintains the notion that "the people called Quakers" said and did nothing to irritate, exasperate, and terrify those who had in charge the security of the struggling colony of Massachusetts Bay.]



## ANNUAL MEETING, 1881.

The Annual Meeting was held in the Dowse Library, on Friday, April 8, at 12 o'clock M.; the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

Agreeably to the usage of the Society, the business of the regular monthly meeting for April was first taken up.

The record of the previous meeting was read by the Rev. Mr. Foote, Secretary *pro tempore*, and accepted.

The Librarian reported the list of gifts to the Library for the month. He announced also that he had received from the directors of the Winnepissiogee Lake Cotton and Woollen Manufacturing Company a cast of the "Endicott Stone," the boulder in which were cut in 1652 the initials of the commissioners appointed by the General Court, and the name of Endicott as Governor, at the head-waters of the Merrimac River, to mark the northern boundary of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The thanks of the Society were voted for this interesting gift.\*

The Corresponding Secretary reported an application from the Chicago Historical Society for publications of this Society, to replace a collection destroyed in the great Chicago fire of 1871. This request was referred to the Corresponding Secretary and the Treasurer, with full powers.†

The President then communicated a gift from Mrs. Tudor, saying :—

We have an interesting and welcome addition to our archives to-day, for which we are indebted to Mrs. Fenno Tudor of this city, the widow of our late respected Associate Member, Frederick Tudor, Esq. It consists of nearly fifty autograph letters (forty-seven if I have counted rightly) from John Adams between the years 1774 and 1801; some of

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\* This stone was discovered about fifty years ago, and an account of it may be found in the New Hampshire Historical Society's Collections, vol. iv. pp. 194-200. With the cast the treasurer of the manufacturing company, within the limits of whose estate the stone reposes, sent also an account of the stone, prepared by James B. Francis, Esq., of Lowell, and published in the "Morning Mail" of that city for March 8, 1881.—Eds.

† A copy of each of the volumes of the Society's publications that could be spared was sent to the Chicago society.—Eds.

them while he was a member of the Continental Congress, some of them while he was Vice-President, and some of them while he was President of the United States. There is, also, one letter from his wife, Abigail Adams; and there is one from his son, John Quincy Adams, while he was Minister at the Hague. Besides these, there are two letters from General Henry Knox, and one letter from Washington at Mount Vernon, in 1788.

I have read them all with great interest, but, as they came to me only the day before yesterday, I have not had time to examine how many of them, if any, have been already published. There are, also, several papers, in manuscript and in print, relating to public affairs at the same period of our history.

These letters and papers have a peculiar interest for us, as being addressed to Judge William Tudor, one of the founders of this Society, and our first Treasurer. I propose that they all be referred to our Publishing Committee, and, in the mean time, I offer the following Resolution:—

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Massachusetts Historical Society be presented to Mrs. Fenno Tudor for her interesting and most acceptable gift of the letters of John Adams, Henry Knox, and George Washington, with others, to Judge William Tudor, one of the founders of the Society.

The Resolution was unanimously adopted.\*

The President announced that a contribution had been received from the Rev. Dr. Richard S. Storrs in behalf of the

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\* The Publishing Committee find that the most interesting of these letters, including the one from Washington, have already been printed; some in Mr. William Tudor's biographical notice of his father in the eighth volume of the second series of the Society's Collections; some in the Life and Works of John Adams. The sentiments of the other letters, those not yet printed, do not differ from those expressed by Mr. Adams in letters to other correspondents already in print; and the Committee think that no new fact has escaped their examination of these papers. It will be remembered that Mr. Tudor was a student in Mr. Adams's law office, and that the intimacy between the friends was always close. Mr. Adams expresses himself with the greatest freedom in many of these letters, and some of them are confidential.

In the package we have found one letter from Thomas Jefferson, Feb. 14, 1823, written to the second William Tudor in acknowledgment of a copy of his Life of James Otis; and a subscription paper in support of the "North American Review," in Mr. Tudor's handwriting, drafted in April, 1816, and signed by President Kirkland, William Sullivan, William S. Shaw, John Lowell, R. H. Gardiner, Theodore Lyman, Jr., Benjamin Bussey, and Thomas H. Perkins. Each subscriber pledged fifty dollars, and paid twenty. The body of the paper states that the editor [Mr. Tudor] will conduct the "Review" without charge for his services.—*Eds.*

Long Island Historical Society of £20 for the memorial window to Sir Walter Raleigh in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster.

He also offered a cordial welcome to a Corresponding Member, the Hon. Charles H. Bell, the president of the New Hampshire Historical Society, who was present at the meeting, to which Mr. Bell replied in appropriate terms.

Mr. HENRY W. HAYNES read the following paper on the authorship of the Society's motto, *Sic vos non vobis*, commonly attributed to Vergil:—

The source from which this phrase, adopted by our Society as its motto, was derived is the well-known anecdote about the distich complimentary to Augustus, written upon a door by an unknown hand, and falsely claimed by a wretched poetaster named Bathyllus; whereupon a third hexameter was secretly added, and the first half of four pentameters, each beginning with the words of our motto; and, as Bathyllus was unable to complete the verses, Vergil triumphantly vindicated his claim to them by writing them out in full.

I will quote the Latin lines and give a paraphrase of them in English equal, perhaps, in point of worthlessness to the original:—

“Nocte pluit tota; redeunt spectacula mane;  
Divisum imperium cum Jove Cæsar habet.  
Hos ego versiculos feci, tulit alter honores.  
Sic vos non vobis nidificatis, aves;  
Sic vos non vobis vellera fertis, oves;  
Sic vos non vobis mellificatis, apes;  
Sic vos non vobis fertis aratra, boves.”

“All night it rains; the games return with day;  
Great Jove with Cæsar holds divided sway.  
These lines I wrote; another had the pay.  
So ye not for yourselves, birds, build your nests;  
So ye not for yourselves, sheep, bear your vests;  
So ye, O bees, make sweets for other folk;  
So, oxen, ye for others wear the yoke.”

This anecdote is to be found in an anonymous “Life of Vergil,” prefixed to a commentary upon his works by a certain Donatus, to whom its authorship has been commonly ascribed. But Heyne pronounced the whole story to be “the silly fabrication of some grammarian or monk,” in which opinion Wagner coincides; and many other critics, including Meyer, the editor of the “Anthology of Ancient

Latin Epigrams," have agreed with them. Professor Nettleship, the Oxford professor of Latin, has recently published a critical study of all the "Ancient Lives of Vergil," in which he has summed up and confirmed the arguments for believing that this so-called Life by Donatus was actually the work of Suetonius. This theory was originally broached by John Gerhard Voss in 1687, and received the support of the famous critic, J. F. Gronovius; and, as it has since been advocated by Reifferscheid, Hagen, Ribbeck, and Comparetti, it is now generally accepted. Professor Nettleship says: "The Life attributed to Donatus exists, as is well known, in an interpolated and an uninterpolated form. The interpolated version, containing a mass of apocryphal matter, which must have gathered shape in the course of centuries, is now generally acknowledged to have assumed its present form before the invention of printing." So Teuffel, in his "History of Roman Literature" (§ 220, b.), speaks of the Life as "interpolated by several nonsensical fictions of the Middle Ages, which in the later manuscripts are added to the original text." And Professor Ramsay says that "in its actual shape it exhibits a worthless farrago of childish anecdotes and frivolous fables, compounded by ignorant and unskilful hands."

Evidently Professor Nettleship regards this story as falling under the condemnation of such "*apocryphal matter*," for he has dropped it altogether from his revised text. In vain, therefore, may we search for our motto in the latest and most authoritative edition of "The Life of Vergil."

The Donatus to whom the Life in question has been commonly ascribed is named in the manuscripts Tiberius Claudius, and he has been generally regarded as a different person from the famous Ælius Donatus, the celebrated grammarian and rhetorician, who taught at Rome in the middle of the fourth century. Professor Nettleship, however, with greater probability, as it seems to me, doubts the existence of two persons bearing the same name, who each wrote commentaries upon Vergil.

Ælius Donatus was the author of a system of Latin grammar, which has formed the groundwork of most elementary treatises upon the same subject from his time down to our own days. Its popularity is sufficiently evidenced by the numerous editions which appeared during the infancy of printing, most of them in "black-letter," without date or name of place or printer; and no work, with the exception of the Scriptures, has excited more interest among bibliographers, or given them more trouble. Even before the in-

vention of printing from movable types several editions seem to have been printed from blocks, fragments of which are preserved in various collections. (An exhaustive study of the bibliography of the "Ars Grammatica" of Donatus may be found in "Notes and Queries," 3d ser. vol. xii. p. 49.)

In fact the word "donat," or "donet," became in early English the synonyme for "grammar," or the "elements of any art," and it is so used by Chaucer in his "Testament of Love," bk. ii. fol. 504: "But thee in all my Donet can I finde." It occurs also with the same signification in the "Vision of Piers Ploughman" (l. 2889 Wright's ed., p. 89): "Then drave I me among drapiers my Donet to lerne." Several other instances of a similar use of the word are quoted by Warton in his "History of English Poetry," sect. viii.

This same Ælius Donatus was the preceptor of St. Jerome, who refers to him several times in this capacity, and in his "Commentary on Ecclesiastes" (chap. i. v. ix. p. 1019) quotes one of his sayings, which has passed into a proverb:—

"Pereant qui ante nos nostra dixerunt."

Although I acknowledge the eminent merits of this father of Latin grammarians, I think that his authority ought no longer to be invoked to prove Vergil's authorship of our motto; and I fear that its paternity, instead of being as respectable as has been imagined, is in fact rather dubious.

The Rev. E. G. PORTER stated that the New Mexico Historical Society, recently organized under very good auspices in Santa Fé, had obtained some valuable early Spanish material relating to "New Spain." The Rev. Dr. HALE remarked that Judge Savage of Nebraska had traced Spanish explorers much further north and east than had before been supposed.

Mr. George B. Chase was added to the committee on the publication of the Washington letters.

The business of the Annual Meeting was then taken up. The report of the Council was presented by the chairman of the Executive Committee, Mr. Saltonstall; the Librarian's report by Dr. Samuel A. Green; that of the Cabinet-keeper by Dr. F. E. Oliver; and that of the Treasurer, with the report of the Auditing Committee attached, by Mr. Smith.

These reports were severally accepted and ordered to be printed in the Proceedings. They here follow:—

*Report of the Council.*

The past year has been one of deep interest to the Society. The two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of Boston was celebrated in the most attractive and instructive manner, inciting Mr. Justin Winsor of this Society to the development of that admirable work, the "Memorial History of Boston," two volumes of which have been completed, beautiful in appearance as they are valuable in their contents. Many of its chapters were contributed by members of this Society to this the first experiment of an historical work written by several authors, who have brought together their stores of historic lore, and have thus created an admirable monument of the anniversary and an invaluable addition to local history.

The two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the First Church of Boston also was an event which owed much of its interest to the eloquent addresses of our honored President, second Vice-President, and other members of the Society.

The same anniversary of the founding of the First Church of Watertown gave other members of the Society the opportunity to speak of the virtues of their ancestors, and of the noble work achieved by them for their posterity.

The Centennial Anniversary of the Foundation of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, over which our honored first Vice-President had long presided, was again the occasion for an admirable address by the President of this Society.

These, with the Centennial Anniversary of the Adoption of the Constitution of Massachusetts, form a series of events the record of which is not to be omitted in this Report.

The efforts of this Society to raise a fund to aid in placing a memorial window to Sir Walter Raleigh in St. Margaret's, Westminster, where he was buried, have been successful, and have resulted in sending £315 to Canon Farrar toward its erection.

The memorial to Congress, in relation to a monument at Yorktown, commemorative of the completion of the War for Independence and of the French Alliance, resulted in an appropriation for that purpose. In this connection it is proper to express the great satisfaction with which the announcement has been received by this Society that our honored President has been invited and has accepted the invitation to

deliver an oration in October next upon that historic spot, on the centennial anniversary of that great event.

The Society has lost by death two immediate members, as follows: Hon. John C. Gray and George B. Emerson, LL.D.; two Honorary Members, Rev. Barnas Sears, D.D., and Thomas Carlyle, D.C.L.; three Corresponding Members, Rev. Samuel Osgood, D.D., Edmund B. O'Callaghan, LL.D., and Rev. J. L. Diman, D.D.

William T. Davis has resigned, and Rev. A. H. Quint ceased to be a member by removing from the State.

Four immediate members have been elected, as follows: Rev. E. G. Porter, John C. Ropes, President Paul A. Chadbourne, and Rev. Henry F. Jenks; one Honorary Member, Professor Theodor Mommsen, of Berlin; six Corresponding Members, James M. Le Moine, Alfred Langdon Elwyn, M.D., Hon. Zachariah Allen of Rhode Island, George Otto Trevelyan of London, Henry Adams of Washington, and Julius Dexter of Cincinnati.

By the further reduction of the mortgage debt in the amount of \$4,000, it is now reduced to \$39,000, although the Treasurer assures us "that not until this debt is extinguished can the Society be considered to be in a satisfactory financial position." Yet when he shows that on the 1st of January, 1888, the debt will probably not exceed \$15,000, the Society may, on the whole, be congratulated.

The Society has received from Mrs. Helen Bigelow Meriman the gift of one thousand dollars, to be called the Erastus B. Bigelow Fund, with no restrictions on the uses to which the income may be applied.

The Society has printed the second volume of its Early Proceedings, a new volume of Current Proceedings, vol. xvii., and has in preparation another volume of Proceedings, a third volume of Sewall Papers, and another volume of Winthrop Papers.

Beside Mr. Winsor's Memorial History of Boston, before mentioned, the following by members of the Society have been published: "Church Building in the Middle Ages," by Charles Eliot Norton; "Records of Groton," by Dr. Green; "Lynde Diaries" (privately printed), by Dr. Oliver; and a second volume of Mr. Sibley's "Harvard Graduates" will shortly be published.

The Librarian in his report shows that 2,565 books, pamphlets, maps, manuscripts, &c., have been presented during the year, and that the bound volumes now in the Library are estimated to be 27,050, and the pamphlets about 55,750.



The Society is indebted to the Cabinet-keeper, Dr. Oliver, for the better arrangement of the portraits and other treasures under his supervision.

The place of our excellent Recording Secretary, Mr. Dexter, has for some months been filled by the Rev. Mr. Foote, to whom the Society is indebted for his faithful discharge of the duties of the office. Mr. Dexter, who has been absent on account of illness, will, it is earnestly hoped, be soon in his accustomed seat, and ready to unite with the Society again in carrying on its work.

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL,

*Chairman of the Executive Committee.*

Boston, April 8, 1881.

*Report of the Librarian.*

The Librarian has the honor to submit his Annual Report. During the year there have been added to the Library: —

Books . . . . .	470
Pamphlets . . . . .	2,024
Bound volumes of newspapers . . . . .	12
Unbound volumes of newspapers . . . . .	19
Maps . . . . .	3
Bound volume of maps . . . . .	1
Broadsides . . . . .	28
Volumes of manuscripts . . . . .	3
Manuscripts . . . . .	5
<hr/>	
Making in all . . . . .	2,565

Of the books added, 313 have been given, 101 have been bought, and 56 procured by exchange. Of the pamphlets added, 1,886 have been given, 135 have been received by purchase, and 3 by exchange.

There are now in the Library, it is estimated, about 27,050 volumes; including files of bound newspapers, the bound manuscripts, and the Dowse collection. The number of pamphlets is about 55,750. Mr. Amos A. Lawrence has added 12 volumes, 23 pamphlets, and 17 volumes of newspapers, all relating to the Great Rebellion. There have been bought with the income of the Savage Fund 101 volumes, 135 pamphlets, and 9 newspapers.

During the year 215 books and 23 pamphlets have been taken out, and all have been returned.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL A. GREEN, *Librarian.*

Boston, April 8, 1881.

*Report of the Cabinet-keeper.*

During the past year there have been twenty-nine donations to the Cabinet, all of which have been duly recorded and reported from time to time.

It was hoped that the examination and rearrangement of the Cabinet, begun a year ago, would be so far completed that a full report on the subject could be submitted at this meeting, but the work is still unfinished, and a very brief statement must suffice for the present.

It seemed to the Cabinet-keeper on taking charge of the Cabinet that it was desirable to bring, if possible, this, a legitimate department of an historical society, into such prominence as to make it more accessible to those interested in objects of historic study.

The first step toward this end was to ascertain what articles actually belonged to the Cabinet, and to have made a carefully prepared list or catalogue of them, properly designated for reference. It was believed that such a catalogue, if printed, besides giving the Cabinet greater attractiveness and utility, would give it a character that would invite more liberal donations.

From a careful examination of the Cabinet, so far as completed, it appears that, besides those articles placed here on deposit, it contains, exclusive of coins and medals, about 1259 objects, including 112 oil paintings, 876 engravings, and 271 of a miscellaneous character; of these many are unrecorded, and of the donations noted in the record book, not a few are missing. The catalogue has already been begun and it is hoped will be completed during the year, giving the name of each article, its history, and its donor, together with any reference to it to be found in the volumes of the Society's Proceedings.

In order to the better display of the objects in the Cabinet, two new cases have been provided and placed in the Library-room, and portraits of the more prominent men representing the past history of Massachusetts and the United States have been hung on the walls of the stairway.

It is hoped that in another year more may be done toward giving this department the prominence it deserves.

FITCH EDWARD OLIVER, *Cabinet-keeper.*

Boston, April 8, 1881.

*Report of the Treasurer.*

IN compliance with the requirements of the By-laws, Chapter VII., Article 1, the Treasurer respectfully submits his Annual Report made up to March 31, 1881.

A further reduction of the mortgage debt of the Society has been effected during the year by the payment of \$4,000, in accordance with the agreement made by the late Treasurer when the mortgage note was renewed. Of the sum thus paid, \$2,000 had been reserved agreeably to a vote passed at the Annual Meeting in 1877; and \$2,000 were charged against the unappropriated income of the current year. The mortgage debt now stands at the sum of \$39,000; and it is believed that when the present lease to the City of Boston expires, — Jan. 1, 1888, — this debt will not exceed the sum of \$15,000. It should be remembered, however, that funds of the Society to an amount of a little more than \$32,000 are also invested in the building; and it cannot be said that the Society is in a satisfactory financial condition until the whole of this debt has been extinguished, and our trust-funds have been re-invested in other sound securities. At the present time, it may be added, there is no way in which these or other funds given to the Society can be so safely and profitably invested as in the reduction of the mortgage debt.

By the sale of a controlling interest in the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad Company, — in which sale the Treasurer in behalf of the Society agreed to join, — a re-investment of a part of the Savage Fund will become necessary, and the principal of that very useful fund will be increased to about \$5,800; but there will be only a slight increase in the income. The income of this fund is at present insufficient for the legitimate demands made on it.

The Society has very recently been informed of the gift of \$1,000 from Mrs. Helen Bigelow Merriman, as a memorial of her father, our late valued Associate, Erastus B. Bigelow. In compliance with a vote passed at the February meeting, this sum has been set apart as the Erastus B. Bigelow Fund; and in the judgment of the Treasurer it will be desirable for the present that the income shall be allowed to accumulate and be added to the principal. By a wise foresight Mrs. Merriman has placed no restrictions on the uses to which the income may be applied. In every thing connected with the prosperity and usefulness of the Society Mr. Bigelow took a deep interest, and his services as a member of the committee

charged with the reconstruction of the building will not be soon forgotten, while the Dowse Library is a silent witness to his refined taste.

The funds held by the Treasurer are the following:—

I. THE APPLETON FUND, created Nov. 18, 1854, by the gift to the Society, from the executors of the will of the late Samuel Appleton, of stocks of the appraised value of ten thousand dollars. These stocks were subsequently sold for \$12,203, at which sum the fund now stands. Interest, at the rate of six per cent per annum, is computed on that amount, and is chargeable on the real estate. The income is applicable to "the procuring, preserving, preparation, and publication of historical papers." As the income was largely anticipated some years ago, nothing will be available from this source during the next year.

II. THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL TRUST-FUND, which now stands, with the accumulated income, at \$9,040.47, and, by a vote passed June 14, 1877, is to be allowed to increase until the principal and interest amount to ten thousand dollars. This fund originated in a gift of two thousand dollars from the late Hon. David Sears, presented Oct. 15, 1855, and accepted by the Society, Nov. 8, 1855; and Dec. 26, 1866, it was increased by a gift of five hundred dollars from Mr. Sears, and another of the same amount from Mr. Nathaniel Thayer. The income can be appropriated only in accordance with the directions in Mr. Sears's declaration of trust in the printed Proceedings for November, 1855. Both the principal and the accumulated income, computed at the rate of six per cent per annum, are chargeable on the real estate of the Society.

III. THE DOWSE FUND, which was given to the Society by the executors of the will of the late Thomas Dowse, April 9, 1857, for the "safe keeping" of the Dowse Library. It amounts to \$10,000, and is a charge on the real estate.

IV. THE PEABODY FUND, presented by the late George Peabody, in a letter dated Jan. 1, 1867, and now amounting to \$22,123. It is invested in the seven per cent bonds of the Boston and Albany Railroad Co., and a deposit in the Suffolk Savings Bank; and the income is only available for the publication and illustration of the Society's Proceedings and Memoirs, and for the preservation of the Society's Historical Portraits.

V. THE SAVAGE FUND, a bequest from the late Hon James Savage, received in June, 1873, and now standing on the books at the sum of \$5,023.25. At the present time it is

invested in the stock and bonds of the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad Co. The income is to be used for the increase of the Society's Library.

VI. THE ERASTUS B. BIGELOW FUND, received in February, 1881, to which reference has already been made.

VII. THE GENERAL FUND, now amounting to \$3,150, which sum represents a legacy of two thousand dollars from the late Henry Harris, received in July, 1867, a legacy of one thousand dollars from the late George Bemis, received in March, 1879, and a commutation fee of one hundred and fifty dollars, received in May, 1879. It is invested in a bond of the Quincy and Palmyra Railroad Co., for one thousand dollars, and a bond of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad Co., also for one thousand dollars; and eleven hundred and fifty dollars have been paid from it toward the reduction of the mortgage debt.

The following abstracts and the trial balance show the present condition of the several accounts:—

## CASH ACCOUNT.

## DEBITS.

1880.		
March 31.	To balance on hand . . . . .	\$1,016.55
1881.		
March 31.	To receipts as follows:—	
	General Account . . . . .	10,723.15
	Income of Peabody Fund . . . . .	1,470.00
	Income of Savage Fund . . . . .	340.00
	Erastus B. Bigelow Fund . . . . .	1,000.00
		<u>\$14,549.70</u>
March 31.	To balance brought down . . . . .	\$1,545.24

## CREDITS.

1881.		
March 31.	By payments as follows:—	
	Reduction of mortgage debt . . . . .	\$4,000.00
	Income of Peabody Fund . . . . .	2,361.29
	Income of Savage Fund . . . . .	892.02
	General Account . . . . .	6,251.16
	By balance on hand . . . . .	1,545.24
		<u>\$14,549.70</u>

## GENERAL ACCOUNT.

## DEBITS.

1881.		
March 31.	To sundry payments:—	
	J. A. Henshaw, salary . . . . .	\$1,200.00
	J. H. Tuttle, salary . . . . .	850.00
	Interest on mortgage . . . . .	2,025.00
	Raleigh Memorial . . . . .	100.00
	Part of cost of Sewall Papers, Vol. III. . . . .	500.00
	New cases for maps, &c. . . . .	112.91
	Printing, stationery, and postage . . . . .	108.41
	Fuel and light . . . . .	184.15
	Binding . . . . .	39.59
	Repairs . . . . .	22.30
	Care of fire, &c. . . . .	326.94
	Miscellaneous expenses . . . . .	181.85
	Income of Appleton Fund . . . . .	732.18
	Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund . . . . .	511.72
	Income of Dowse Fund . . . . .	600.00
	Reduction of mortgage debt . . . . .	2,000.00
	Sinking Fund . . . . .	2,000.00
	To balance to new account . . . . .	2,055.39
		<u>\$14,150.44</u>

## CREDITS.

1880.		
March 31.	By balance on hand . . . . .	\$2,827.29
1881.		
March 31.	By sundry receipts:—	
	Rent of Building . . . . .	9,000.00
	Income of General Fund . . . . .	160.00
	Interest . . . . .	48.57
	Income of Dowse Fund . . . . .	600.00
	Admission Fees . . . . .	80.00
	Assessments . . . . .	912.00
	Sales of publications . . . . .	522.58
		<u>\$14,150.44</u>
March 31.	By balance brought down . . . . .	\$2,055.39

*Income of Appleton Fund.*

## DEBITS.

1880.		
March 31.	To balance against the account . . . . .	\$1,462.96
1881.		
March 31.	To balance brought down . . . . .	\$730.78

## CREDITS.

1881.		
March 31.	By one year's interest on \$12,203 principal . . . . .	\$732.18
	„ balance carried forward . . . . .	730.78
		<u>\$1,462.96</u>

*Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund.*

## DEBITS.

1881.		
March 31.	To amount carried to new account . . . . .	<u>\$6,040.47</u>

## CREDITS.

1880.		
March 31.	By amount brought forward . . . . .	\$5,528.75
Sept. 1.	„ one year's interest on \$3,000 principal . . . . .	180.00
	„ one year's interest on accrued interest . . . . .	831.72
		<u>\$6,040.47</u>

1881.		
March 31.	By amount brought down . . . . .	<u>\$6,040.47</u>

*Income of Dowe Fund.*

## DEBITS.

1881.		
March 31.	To amount placed to credit of General Account . . . . .	<u>\$600.00</u>

## CREDITS.

1881.		
March 31.	By one year's interest on \$10,000 principal . . . . .	<u>\$600.00</u>

*Income of Peabody Fund.*

## DEBITS.

1881.		
March 31.	To amount paid for Recent Proceedings . . . . .	\$1,256.43
	„ „ „ Early Proceedings . . . . .	1,104.86
		<u>\$2,361.29</u>
March 31.	To balance brought down . . . . .	<u>\$743.29</u>

## CREDITS.

1880.		
March 31.	By balance brought forward . . . . .	\$148.00
1881.		
March 31.	By one year's interest on railroad bonds . . . . .	1,470.00
	„ balance to new account . . . . .	743.29
		<u>\$2,361.29</u>

*Income of Savage Fund.*

## DEBITS.

1881.		
March 31.	To balance brought forward . . . . .	\$24.53
1881.		
March 31.	To amount paid for books . . . . .	289.82
	„ amount paid for binding . . . . .	102.20
		<u>\$416.55</u>
March 31.	To balance brought down . . . . .	<u>\$76.55</u>



1881.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By two semi-annual dividends on railroad shares . . .	\$40.00	
	" one year's interest on railroad bonds . . . . .	300.00	
	" balance to new account . . . . .	76.55	
			<u>\$416.65</u>

*Sinking Fund.*

1881.		DEBITS.	
Jan. 17.	To amount applied to reduction of mortgage . . . . .	\$2,000.00	
			<u>\$2,000.00</u>

1880.		CREDITS.	
Oct. 1.	By amount transferred from the General Account . . . .	\$2,000.00	
			<u>\$2,000.00</u>

## TRIAL BALANCE.

		DEBITS.	
Cash . . . . .		\$1,546.24	
Real Estate . . . . .		103,280.19	
Investments . . . . .		36,296.25	
Income of Appleton Fund . . . . .		730.78	
Income of Savage Fund . . . . .		76.55	
Income of Peabody Fund . . . . .		743.29	
			<u>\$142,672.30</u>

		CREDITS.	
Notes Payable . . . . .		\$39,000.00	
Building Account . . . . .		89,077.19	
Appleton Fund . . . . .		12,203.00	
Dowse Fund . . . . .		10,000.00	
Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund . . . . .		3,000.00	
Peabody Fund . . . . .		22,123.00	
Savage Fund . . . . .		5,023.25	
Erastus B. Bigelow Fund . . . . .		1,000.00	
General Fund . . . . .		3,150.00	
Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund . . . . .		6,040.47	
General Account . . . . .		2,055.39	
			<u>\$142,672.30</u>

The real estate is, at the present time, subject to the following incumbrances, — the balance of the mortgage note (\$39,000), the principal of the Appleton Fund (\$12,203), of the Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund (\$3,000), and of the Dowse Fund (\$10,000), a part of the principal of the General Fund (\$1,150), and the accumulated income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund (\$6,040.47), making in the aggregate, \$71,393.47. Consequently more than two-

thirds of the rent received from the City of Boston must be reserved to cover the interest on this sum, and the amount which must be placed to the credit of the Sinking Fund. There will be sufficient means in the treasury, however, to pay the balance which will be due on account of the third volume of Judge Sewall's Diary, and to defray the cost of the volume of Washington Letters. The volume of Winthrop Papers now passing through the press will be issued without charge to the Society.

CHARLES C. SMITH,  
*Treasurer.*

Boston, March 31, 1881.

*Report of the Auditing Committee.*

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society, as made up to March 31, 1881, have attended to their duty, and report that they find them correctly kept and properly vouched; that the securities held by him for the several funds correspond with the statement in his Annual Report; that the balance of cash on hand is satisfactorily accounted for; and that the Trial Balance is accurately taken from the Ledger.

GEORGE B. CHASE, }  
ABBOTT LAWRENCE, } *Committee.*

Boston, April 5, 1881.

Mr. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, for the Committee to nominate a list of officers for the ensuing year, reported the following list, and the gentlemen named therein were duly elected:—

*President.*

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, LL.D. . . . . BOSTON.

*Vice-Presidents.*

REV. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D. . . . . BOSTON.

CHARLES DEANE, LL.D. . . . . CAMBRIDGE.

*Recording Secretary.*

GEORGE DEXTER, A.M. . . . . CAMBRIDGE.

*Corresponding Secretary.*

JUSTIN WINSOR, A.B. . . . . CAMBRIDGE.

*Treasurer.*

CHARLES C. SMITH, Esq. . . . . BOSTON.

*Librarian.*

SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D. . . . . BOSTON.

*Cabinet-keeper.*

FITCH EDWARD OLIVER, M.D. . . . . BOSTON.

*Executive Committee of the Council.*

DELANO A. GODDARD, A.M. . . . . BOSTON.  
 GEORGE B. CHASE, A.M. . . . . BOSTON.  
 HENRY CABOT LODGE, Ph.D. . . . . NAHANT.  
 REV. PHILLIPS BROOKS, D.D. . . . . BOSTON.  
 HENRY W. HAYNES, A.M. . . . . BOSTON.

The thanks of the Society were voted to the Hon. Charles Francis Adams, LL.D., who declined a re-election as Vice-President, after a service of twelve years; to Messrs. Saltonstall and Winsor, the retiring members of the Executive Committee of the Council; and to Mr. Deane for his valuable services in the office of Corresponding Secretary.

The Society then adjourned to meet socially at the house of the President, No. 90 Marlborough Street, Boston.

## MAY MEETING, 1881.

The stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at 3 o'clock P.M., in the Dowse Library; the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, occupied the chair.

The record of the previous meeting was read and approved.

The usual monthly reports of the Librarian and the Corresponding Secretary were presented.

The President then announced the deaths of an Honorary and a Resident Member, and called attention to the loss of other distinguished men, not members of this Society, as follows:—

An absence from home of only three weeks, just ended, has been marked for me, Gentlemen, by the loss of several distinguished and valued friends, at least two of whom were connected, in different relations, with this Society. I had been at Washington less than a week, when I was summoned as far back as Philadelphia, to serve as a pall-bearer at the funeral of the revered and lamented Dr. Alexander Hamilton Vinton. Returning to Washington from that service, I was met by a telegram announcing the death of an Honorary Member, who was endeared to more than one of us by long friendship and frequent correspondence,—the Hon. Hugh Blair Grigsby, LL.D., of Virginia. A day or two only had elapsed before the newspapers informed me that the venerable Dr. John Gorham Palfrey had passed away at Cambridge. The papers of a very few days later apprised me that the excellent Charles Hudson had also been released from the burdens of the flesh. Much more time would have been required than the few hours I have had at my command since I reached home on Tuesday evening, for preparing any adequate notices of such names; but I should not be forgiven for not dwelling for a moment on those which have had a place on our rolls.

Mr. Hudson was chosen a Resident Member of this Society in June, 1859, and during the twenty-one years of his membership had rendered valuable service to the cause in which we are associated. As a local historian, few of his contemporaries, if any, have done more. His history of the towns

of Marlborough, his native place; of Westminster, where he long resided; and still more of the far-famed Lexington, where he lived still later, and where he died,—make up a most interesting and important contribution to the illustration of our Commonwealth. But long before he entered on this field of labor he had played a conspicuous part in the service both of the State and nation. My earliest association with him was in the Legislature of Massachusetts, more than forty years ago, where he did more, I think, than any other member of either branch in the organization of our then infant railroad system. Our former Associate, the late Nathan Hale, with whom he actively co-operated, could alone, as it seems to me, be named as having rendered equal service. In 1841 he was transferred to the House of Representatives of the United States, where, for eight years, he exhibited the same practical sagacity and ability in the legislation of Congress.

It will not be forgotten that as lately as January, 1880, when he had already entered the eighty-fifth year of his age, Mr. Hudson made an interesting communication, now printed in the last volume of our Proceedings, on "The Character of Major John Pitcairn, the British Officer who opened the Drama of the American Revolution on the 19th of April, 1775." In presenting to the Society that communication, which he had intrusted to my care and discretion, I spoke of my venerable friend as "one of the ablest and honestest men whom Massachusetts ever had in her service." What I said of him living, I repeat now that he is dead. He was a man of the strongest practical common sense, of untiring industry, of great ability, and of the sternest integrity in public as well as in private life, and I gladly avail myself of this opportunity to bear witness to his varied services, and to express the deep respect I have always entertained for his exemplary character and his eminent usefulness to his fellow-men and his country.

It would have gratified him to know that his paper on Pitcairn had attracted favorable attention from the descendants of that officer in England, and that diligent investigation had been made, though thus far without success, to verify the suggestion that Pitcairn was buried at Westminster Abbey. I was just proposing to communicate with Mr. Hudson on that point when I heard of his death.

Of the remarkable qualities and accomplishments of our deceased Honorary Member, Mr. Grigsby, of Virginia, I hardly

dare to speak, with the little preparation which it has been in my power to make in the single day since my return home. I trust that our friend Dr. Deane, who knew him as well and valued him as highly as I did, will now or hereafter supply all my deficiencies, and place him on our records as he deserves to be placed. Indeed, he has placed himself there with no mistakable impress. No one of our Honorary Members, on either side of the Atlantic, has ever exhibited so warm a personal interest in our Proceedings, or has so often favored us with interesting letters, which have been gladly printed in our successive serials or volumes.

A Virginian of the Virginians, — President of their Historical Society, and Chancellor of their oldest College; bound to the Old Dominion by every tie of blood and of affection; proud of her history, with which he was so familiar; proud of her great men, with so many of whom he had been personally associated in public as well as in private life; sympathizing deeply in all her political views and with all her recent trials and reverses, — he was yet never blind to the great men and great deeds of New England, never indifferent to our own Massachusetts history in particular. On the contrary, he was always eager to cultivate the regard and friendship of our scholars and public men. No work from our press seemed to escape his attention. There was no poem of Longfellow or Whittier or Holmes or Lowell, no history of Prescott or Bancroft or Palfrey or Motley or Frothingham or Parkman, which he did not read with lively interest and discuss with discrimination and candor.

In the little visit which he made us ten years ago, he formed personal friendships with not a few of those whom he had known only by their works, and they were a constant source of pleasure and pride to him. For myself, I look back on more than twenty years of familiar and friendly correspondence with him, — interrupted by the war, but renewed with the earliest return of peace, — which was full of entertainment and instruction, and which I shall miss greatly as the years roll on, and as the habit and the art of letter-writing is more and more lost in telegraphic and telephonic and postal-card communication.

There is hardly any thing more interesting in all our seventeen volumes of Proceedings than his letter to me of March 30, 1866, beginning, "Five years and fourteen days have elapsed since I received a letter from you," — giving a vivid description of some of his personal experiences during the

Civil War,—asking whether it was true that one whom he “so much esteemed and honored as President Felton was no more,”—adding, “Is Mr. Deane living?”—and abounding in the kindest allusions to those from whom the war had so sadly separated him.

I may not forget to mention that Horace Binney, of Philadelphia, though thirty years older than Mr. Grigsby, was a special correspondent of his, and that the last letter which Mr. Binney wrote before his death, at ninety-four, was to our lamented friend.

Mr. Grigsby, from an early period of his life, suffered severely from imperfect hearing, an infirmity which grew upon him, year by year, until knowledge at one entrance seemed quite shut out. But he bore it patiently and heroically, and his books and his pen were an unfailing source of consolation and satisfaction. Educated for several years at Yale, and admitted to the bar of Norfolk, with every acquisition to fit him for a distinguished career in the law and in public life, he was constrained to abandon it all, and confine himself to his family, his friends, and his library.

As a very young man, however, hardly twenty-one, he had a seat in the great Constitutional Convention of Virginia, in 1829–30, and was associated with all the conspicuous men of that period. Meantime, he was studying the characters and careers of the great Virginians of earlier periods, not a few of whom were still living. His Discourse on the Virginia Convention of 1776, extended in print to a volume of more than two hundred pages, with its elaborate notes and appendix, is indeed as perfect a summary of the history of some of the great men of his native State—Jefferson and Madison and Patrick Henry and George Mason, and others—as can easily be found; while his Discourses on the men with whom he was associated in the Convention of 1830, and on Littleton W. Tazewell, the Senator and Governor and eminent lawyer of Virginia, are worthy supplements to that which had preceded them. Many other publications, both in prose and verse, have manifested the fertility of his mind and the extent of his culture and research, while his letters alone would have occupied more than the leisure of any common man.

Meantime, he was devoted to agricultural pursuits, planting and hoeing and ditching with his own hands, and prouder of his Dike, his “Julius Cæsar Bridge,” and his Crops, than of any other of his productions. His very last letter to me, dated not long before his illness, concludes by saying: “My employments for the past two weeks have been the reading



of Justin, Suetonius, Tom Moore's Diary, and the building of a rail zigzag fence, nearly a mile long, to keep my neighbors' cattle off my premises." In a previous paragraph he said that he had just promised an invalid friend, who was anxious on the subject, to call soon and read to him "the admirable sermon of Paley on the Recognition of Friends in Another World." That may, perchance, have been his last neighborly office before he was called to the verification and enjoyment, as we trust, of those Christian hopes and anticipations in which he ever delighted.

But I forbear from any further attempt to do justice, in this off-hand, extempore manner, to one of whom I would gladly have spoken with more deliberation and with greater fulness. He had promised to meet me and stand by my side at Yorktown next October, and I shall sorely miss his friendly counsel and assistance for that occasion, should I be spared to take part in it.

The son of a Presbyterian clergyman, he was to the last warmly attached to the faith and forms of the church in which he was brought up. While tolerant toward all, "The Westminster Confession" and "The Shorter Catechism" were his cherished manuals of religion and theology. Born in Norfolk, Virginia, on the 22d of November, 1806, he died at his mansion, Edgehill, Charlotte County, on the 28th of April last, in his seventy-fifth year, leaving a son and a daughter as the support of their widowed mother.

The Society will pardon me, I am sure, for a very few additional words. It is not our usage to take notice of the deaths of those who are not of our immediate number. But it will be remembered that Dr. John Gorham Palfrey would have been our senior member, at the time of his death, had he not resigned his membership, to the regret of us all, some years ago. Elected first in 1825, and continuing with us thirteen years; re-elected in 1842, and continuing with us twelve years more, — twenty-five years in all, — he delivered, in 1846, our Semi-Centennial Oration, and he has in other ways been identified with our history as a Society. In view of all this, and far more in view of the fact that he is everywhere recognized as pre-eminently the Historian of New England, I have thought it due to him, and due to ourselves, that his recent death, at so venerable an age, while enjoying our warmest respect and regard, should not be unmarked in our Proceedings to-day. I have, therefore, prepared Resolutions, embracing Dr. Palfrey, as well as Mr.

Grigsby and Mr. Hudson, which I now offer with the sanction of the Council: —

*Resolved*, That, in the death of the Hon. Charles Hudson, this Society has lost a highly-esteemed and respected associate, who had rendered important services to the Commonwealth and the Country, in former years, as a member of our State and National Legislatures, and who had since made many valuable contributions to our local history; and that the President appoint one of our members to prepare the customary Memoir for some future volume of our Proceedings.

*Resolved*, That the Massachusetts Historical Society offer their sincere sympathy to the Historical Society of Virginia, on the death of their distinguished and accomplished President, the Hon. Hugh Blair Grigsby, LL.D., whom we had long counted it a privilege to include among our own Honorary Members, and for whom we entertained the highest regard and respect; and that the Secretary communicate a copy of this Resolution to our sister Society of Virginia.

*Resolved*, That this Society cannot omit to place upon our records an expression of our deep sense of the eminent interest and value of the historical labors of Dr. John Gorham Palfrey, the author of the admirable "History of New England," who for many years, at two successive periods, was an active and honored member of our Society, and whose varied and distinguished career has been closed, at a venerable age, since our last monthly meeting.

Mr. DEANE spoke of Mr. Grigsby, and related some incidents of the visit of that gentleman to Boston at the close of the war.

Mr. PORTER spoke of Mr. Hudson in his relations as a citizen of the town of Lexington.

The Hon. E. R. HOAR then spoke of the death of Dr. Palfrey: —

I do not know whether it is in accordance with the usages of this Society to say any thing upon a resolution in honor of one who was not a member at the time of his death; but if it is not inconsistent with the proprieties of the occasion, I should be glad to add a few words in memory of Dr. Palfrey. It will be fifty years next September since my acquaintance

with him began in the College Chapel at Cambridge, and our friendship continued till I parted with him in the College Chapel at his funeral a few days ago. During all this time his character has been to me an inspiration and an example. The resolution speaks of him in fitting terms as an historian; but he was a man who helped to make history as well as to write it. He was himself a contribution to history. His political career in the public service was a very short one, and perhaps by many would not be thought a success. But as was well said of him at its close, —

“There are who triumph in a losing cause,  
Who can put on defeat, as 'twere a wreath.”

In his influence upon the young men of the last generation, and in producing a change in our state and nation, — which we all accept so heartily that it is difficult even to recall the condition of public sentiment forty years ago, — I think he had few equals among men in public life, and that none could be named before him, unless we should except Mr. John Quincy Adams. His excellence as the historian of New England and her people is largely due to the strong flavor that was in him of the soil and the race. He has left a memory very precious, and which should be abiding.

The Rev. Dr. ELLIS, in behalf of Mrs. Elizabeth P. Parker, presented a miniature of Mr. John Gray, the owner of the ropewalk at the foot of Hutchinson Street, now Pearl Street, and an actor in the Boston tea party. The thanks of the Society were voted to Mrs. Parker for her acceptable gift.

The Hon. Samuel C. Cobb and Horace E. Scudder, A.M., were elected Resident Members.

The President called attention to the portrait of John Hampden in the White House at Washington, and stated that he should at some early meeting in the future give a more extended account of it.

The Rev. HENRY W. FOOTE presented for the Proceedings a copy of a catalogue, from the records of King's Chapel, of the library given by King William III. to that church, with remarks as follows: —

The earliest collection of books in New England, if not in America, which has been substantially preserved to the present time, is the fine theological library which was given by King William III., in 1698, to King's Chapel, in Boston, for the use of the ministers of the church. The records contain the following entries: —

"1698, Octob. 2 Paid M<sup>r</sup> Miles, to pay for the chests or boxes for the King's library, £3 00s. 00d.

"9 ber 27 Paid M<sup>r</sup> Miles for more chests for the King's library, in all 12 boxes, £0 15s. 00d."

and also a letter to the "Right Honourable and Right Reverend Father in God, Henry, Lord Bishop of London," dated July 25, 1698, which says:—

"Since we have received another experience of y<sup>r</sup> Lord<sup>sh</sup> care and kindness in sending Us a Library, which we have received in good Condition, and having this Oportunity of a Worthy Gent<sup>l</sup>, Coll. Andrew Hammlton, late Governour of the Jerseys, may not omit to render y<sup>r</sup> Lord<sup>sh</sup> our most hearty thanks, and shall see them improved to the true Intent; for the present have lodged them in M<sup>r</sup> Miles his study, for the use of him, the Assistant when he comes, and his or their successors, and take care that no abuse or imbecilment be made of them."

Bishop Compton had probably been instrumental in procuring this noble gift from the king's bounty; but in thus benefiting the church King William was continuing a kindness already begun by Queen Mary, and performed by him after her decease; for in 1696 he gave cushions and carpets, a Bible and prayer-books, altar-cloth and surplices, to complete what had been begun in 1694, when the king and queen had jointly bestowed a service of communion plate "for y<sup>e</sup> use of their maj<sup>ties</sup> Chappell in N. England."

The covers of the books were stamped as the gift of the King:—

SVB  
AVSPICIIS  
WILHELMII  
III

DE  
BIBLIOTHECA  
DE  
BOSTON

This was the only library not of private ownership (and private libraries were few) in New England at that date, with the solitary exception of the library of Harvard College, and was, therefore, valuable from the scarcity of books; but it had a greater value in itself, being an admirable collection of the best books for the use of a scholarly theologian of the Church of England. As the College library and those of Congregational ministers would hardly have admitted such works, it probably stood alone, in its special characteristics, from the beginning. The destruction, by fire, of the College library in 1765, and the utter dispersion of such collections of books as learned ministers like the Mathers had got together, leave the King's Chapel library a unique monument

of the kind. It contained, if this catalogue has been rightly counted, sixty-six works in folio, comprised in ninety-six volumes; twenty-one in quarto, in twenty-six volumes; fifty-seven in octavo, in eighty-three volumes; and six in duodecimo, in as many volumes. These included Walton's great "Biblia Polyglotta," Lexicons and Commentaries, fine editions of the Church Fathers, Bodies of Divinity, works on Doctrine and Duty, the Sermons of the great preachers of the English Church, historical works of approved political and theological bias (among them such sound Royalist histories as Sir William Dugdale's "View of the Late Troubles"), and Treatises Controversial and Philological. Other valuable works were added from time to time, subsequently to the date of this catalogue.

The distinguished Dr. Thomas Bray (to whose labors for the religious welfare of the colonies this country is deeply indebted) was in London at the same time with the Rev. Samuel Miles, of King's Chapel, in 1694. As this was the time when the royal gifts were obtained by the latter, it is highly probable that Dr. Bray thence derived the idea of obtaining similar libraries for Church of England ministers in the colonies, for which he raised subscriptions through the kingdom, succeeding in placing not less than thirty choice libraries of this kind at different points. All of these, however, disappeared during the Revolution; and the King's Chapel catalogue is thus the more interesting as showing the class of books which were probably collected at other similar places in consequence of Dr. Bray's efforts.

The library was kept in the houses of the successive ministers of King's Chapel until the Revolution, when it suffered somewhat. The chief part of the books, however, remained, and in 1807 were deposited in the Theological Library. They then numbered two hundred and fifty-one volumes, of which thirty-seven disappeared between 1807 and 1823, at which date the library contained seventy-three works in folio, consisting of one hundred and eighteen volumes, twenty-five works in quarto, in as many volumes, and fifty-six works in smaller sizes, consisting of seventy-one volumes. In July, 1823, when the Theological Library was placed in the Athenæum,\* by vote of the proprietors of King's Chapel the removal of these books also to the keeping of the Athenæum as a deposit was consented to, on conditions which are given in Greenwood's "History of King's Chapel," pp. 161-164.

The books, however, were distributed, according to their

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\* See Quincy's "History of the Boston Athenæum," p. 88.

subjects, in different parts of the Athenæum. Of two hundred and fourteen volumes deposited in 1823, only six have since disappeared. One hundred and ten volumes, more than half of the whole number, still retain the royal stamp on the binding; but a considerable number, especially of the valuable folios, having been rebound in an inferior manner, have unfortunately lost this mark.

In view of the special value of this library as a relic of our early history, it has now (1881) been gathered together and placed separately in a suitable case in the Athenæum, at the cost of the church.

The early records of King's Chapel contain the following:—

#### A REGISTER OF BOOKS\*

*Sent with his Excellency the Earl of Bellomont towards laying the foundation of a Library for the use of the Church of England Clergy in Boston.*

##### I. On the Scriptures.

Biblia Polyglotta . . . . .	[London, 1657].	6 vols., folio.
Castelli Lexicon . . . . .	[London, 1669].	2 vols., folio.
Robertson's Liber Psalmorum. Heb. . . . .		12mo.
Bythner's Lyra Prophetica . . . . .	[London, 1679].	4to.
Buxtorfii Thesaurus . . . . .	[1620].	8vo.
Buxtorfii Lexicon . . . . .	[Basilia, 1645].	8vo.
Calvini Opera; et Commentaria . . . . .	[Geneva, 1617].	3 vols., folio.
Poli Synopsis Criticorum . . . . .		5 vols., 4to.
Dr. Lightfoot's Works . . . . .	[London, 1684].	2 vols., folio.
Dr. Hammond upon the Psalms . . . . .	[1684].	folio.
“ “ on the New Testament . . . . .		folio.
Mr. Baxter on the New Testament . . . . .	[London, 1685].	8vo.
Chemnitii et Gerhardi Harmoniæ Evangelicæ . . . . .	[Genev.].	folio.
Estius in Epistolas . . . . .	[1623].	folio.
Mr. Joseph Mead's Works . . . . .		folio.
Mr. Edwards on the difficult texts . . . . .	[London, 1696].	2 vols., 8vo.

##### II. Fathers.

Clementis Epistolæ. Ed. Colomesii . . . . .	[London, 1694].	8vo.
Polycarpi et Ignatii Epistolæ. Ed. Usserii, Oxon. . . . .	[1644].	4to.
Justini Martyris Opera. Colonæ, 1686 . . . . .		folio.
Tertulliani Opera. Rigaltii, Paris, 1634 . . . . .		folio.
Cypriani Opera, <i>necnon</i> . . . . .		
Minucii Felicis . . . . .		
Arnobii . . . . .		

\* The spelling of the titles of the works here enrolled has been corrected partly from the titlepages of the books themselves, partly from the printed catalogues of the Boston Athenæum and the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Dates and places of publication between brackets have been added from two partial lists of the books made at much later times than the original register. — H. W. F.

- Julii Firmici Materni . . . . . Ed. Paris, 1666 . folio.  
 Commodiani Opera Omnia. Ex. Pamelii. Ed. Paris, 1666 . folio.  
 Ambrosii Opera . . . . . 2 vols., Paris, 1661, [folio].  
 Epiphanii Opera; Gr. et Lat. . . . . 2 vols., Coloniae, 1682, [folio].  
 Hieronymi Opera . . . . . 3 vols., Paris, 1609.  
 Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomenus, etc.; Gr. et Lat. 3 vols., *juxta*.  
     Edit. Valesii, Amstel. . . . . 1677, [folio].  
 Athanasii Opera; Gr. et Lat. . . . . 2 vols., Paris, 1621, [folio].  
 Augustini Opera . . . . . 7 vols., Paris, 1685, folio.  
 Fulgentii Opera . . . . . [Basiliae, 1587]. 8vo.  
 Gregorii Opera . . . . . Paris, 1621, [8vo].  
 Bernardi Opera . . . . . Paris, 1621, [folio].  
 Dallæus de usu Patrum . . . . . [Genev., 1656, 4to].  
 Scriveneri Apologia pro Ecclesiae Patribus . [London, 1672, 4to].

III. *Discourses apologetical for the authority of the Scriptures and the truth of Christianity.*

- Grotius de Veritate Christianæ Religionis . . [Oxon. 1675]. 12mo.  
 Stillingfleet's Origines Sacrae . . . . . [1680]. 4to.  
 Edwards on the Authority, Style, and Perfection of the Holy  
     Scriptures . . . . . 3 vols., 8vo.

IV. *Bodies of Divinity.*

- Estius in Sententias . . . . . [Paris, 1638].  
 Chemnitii Loci Communes . . . . . [Witberg, 1610]. folio.  
 Calvini Institutiones. *Inter Opera* . . . . .  
 Polani Syntagma . . . . . [Francof., 1655]. folio.  
 Turretini Compendium . . . . . [Amstael., 1695]. 4to.  
 Philippi a Limborch Theologia Christiana [Amstældami, 1695]. folio.  
 Le Blanc's Theses Theologicae . . . . . [London, 1683]. folio.  
 Vossii Theses Theologicae . . . . . [Bellositi, 1628]. 4to.  
 Dr. Hammond's Practical Discourses . . . . [1684]. folio.  
 Dr. Scott's Christian life and Discourses . [London, 1696].  
     5 vols., 8vo.

V. *On the General Doctrine of the Covenant of Grace.*

- First Volume of Catechetical Lectures. [Dr. Thos. Bray, Ox-  
     ford, 1697] . . . . . folio.  
 Short Discourse on the doctrine of our baptismal Covenant . 8vo.

VI. *On the Creed in General.*

- Dr. Jackson's Works . . . . . [London, 1673]. 3 vols., folio.  
 Mr. Perkins on the Creed. [Cambridge, 1613]; with his other  
     Works . . . . . 3 vols., folio.  
 Dr. Heylyn's Theologia Veterum . . . . . [London, 1654]. folio.  
 Bishop Pearson on the Creed . . . . . folio.  
 Dr. Barrow on the Creed . . . . . [London, 1697]. 8vo.  
     " " [Opuscula, etc.] . . . . . folio.



VII. *On the particular Articles.*

Dr. Bates on the Divine Existence . . . . .	[London, 1677].	8vo.
Dr. Pelling on the Divine Existence . . . . .	[London, 1696].	8vo.
Mr. Edwards on the Divine Existence and Providence . . . . .		8vo.
Dr. Sherlock, on Providence . . . . .	[1694].	4to.
Charnock on Providence. <i>Inter Opera</i> . . . . .		
“ on the Divine Attributes . . . . .	[London, 1682-84].	folio.
Dr. Bull's <i>Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ de necessitate Cre-</i> <i>rendi quod Dominus Noster Jesus Christus Verus Sit Deus</i>		
	[1694].	12mo.
Dr. Barrow on the Trinity, bound up with Assheton's Collec- tions on that subject . . . . .		8vo.
Bishop Stillingfleet on the Trinity . . . . .		8vo.
“ “ on the Satisfaction of Christ . . . . .		8vo.
Dr. Sherlock's knowledge of Jesus Christ . . . . .	[1678].	2 parts, 8vo.
Downname on Justification . . . . .	[London, 1639].	folio.
Dr. Bates's Harmony of Divine attributes in the Great business of Man's Redemption . . . . .	[London, 1677].	8vo.
Dr. Bull's <i>Examen Censuræ</i> . . . . .	[London, 1676].	4to.
Dr. Sherlock on Death . . . . .	[1696].	8vo.
“ “ on Judgment . . . . .	[London, 1695].	8vo.
Drélincourt's Considerations on Death . . . . .	[London, 1692].	8vo.

VIII. *On Moral Laws and Christian Duties.*

Zouche's <i>Elementa Jurisprudentiæ</i> . . . . .		12mo.
Sanderson de obligatione Conscientiæ . . . . .		8vo.
Bishop Taylor's <i>Ductor Dubitantium</i> . . . . .		folio.
Sharrock de Officiis . . . . .	[Oxon. 1660].	8vo.
Mr. Perkins's Cases of Conscience. <i>Inter Opera</i> . . . . .		8vo.
Bishop Barlow's Cases of Conscience . . . . .	[London, 1692].	8vo.
Dr. Cave's <i>Primitive Christianity</i> . . . . .		8vo.
Summa Virtutum et Vitiorum . . . . .		8vo.
Bishop Hopkins on the Ten Commandments . . . . .		4to.
Bishop Taylor's <i>Holy Living and Dying</i> . . . . .		8vo.
Christian Monitor, with week upon Death . . . . .		12mo.*
Kettlewell's Measures of Christian Obedience [London, 1696].		8vo.
Dr. Pelling's Discourse on Holiness . . . . .		8vo.
Downname's <i>Christian Warfare</i> . . . . .	[London, 1634].	folio.
Dr. Horneck's <i>Happy Ascetick</i> . . . . .		8vo.
“ “ <i>Great law of Consideration</i> . . . . .		8vo.

\* This title looks very suspicious. Possibly some book or sermon of Dr. John Weekes is intended. He was a Prebendary of Bristol and chaplain to Laud. I find no trace of his sermons except that the Bodleian Library contains a copy of his "Truths Conflict with Error; or, Universal Redemption Controverted." London, 1650, 4to. Dr. Ezra Abbot has, in his Bibliography, appended to Mr. Alger's "Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life," the title of a sermon by John Weekes, on the intermediate state, but the date of its publication is fifty years after the time of this Register. — H. W. F.

- Bishop Fowler's design of Christianity . . . [London, 1676]. 8vo.  
 " " Christian Liberty . . . [London, 1680]. 8vo.

IX. *Of Prayer and the Sacraments.*

- Bishop Hopkins on the Lord's prayer . . . [4to. London, 1692].  
 Dr. Bright upon Prayer . . . [8vo. London, 1678].  
 Dr. Comber's Discourses on the whole Common prayer . . . 8vo.  
 Kettlewell on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper . . . 8vo.  
 Dr. Horneck's Crucified Jesus . . . 8vo.  
 " " on Repentance . . .  
 Dr. Goodman's Prodigal pardoned . . . [8vo. London, 1694].

X. *Sermons.*

- Bishop Reynolds's . . . [Savoy, 1670]. folio.  
 Bishop Sanderson's . . . folio.  
 Archbishop Tillotson's . . . [London, 1694]. 10 vols., 8vo.  
 Archbishop Leighton's . . . 2 vols. 4to., 1 vol., 8vo.  
 " " Prælectiones [York, 1693, and London, 1694].  
 4to.  
 Dr. Barrow's Sermons . . . 3 vols., 8vo.  
 Dr. Conant's Sermons . . . [London, 1693, 1697]. 2 vols., 8vo.  
 Bishop Stillingfleet's . . . 2 vols., 8vo.  
 Bishop Ryder's . . . 8vo.  
 Dorrington's Discourses . . . 2 vols., 8vo.  
 Falkner's Remains . . . [London, 1684]. 4to.

XI. *Historical.*

- Petavii Rationarium Temporum . . .  
 Cradock's Church History of the Old and New Testaments  
 [London, 1633, 1672]. 2 vols., folio.  
 Du Pin's Ecclesiastical History of the first nine Centuries  
 [London, 1693]. 3 vols., folio.  
 Bishop Taylor's Life of Christ . . . [London, 1667] folio.  
 Dr. Cave's Lives of the Apostles . . . [London, 1687].  
 " " Lives of the Fathers . . . [London, 1683]. 2 vols., folio.  
 Burnet's History of the Reformation . . . [London, 1681]. 2 vols., folio.  
 Quick's Synodicon, or History of the Reformed Church of  
 France . . . [London, 1692]. folio.  
 Blount's Censura Authorum . . . folio.  
 Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle of the Kings of England  
 [London, 1696]. folio.  
 Sir Wm. Dugdale's View of the late troubles . . . folio.  
 Varenius's Geography with Sanson's maps . . . folio.\*

XII. *Controversial.*

- Chemnitii Examen Concilii Tridentini . . . [Francofort., 1573]. folio.

\* Doubtless Richard Blome's *Cosmography and Geography*, etc., from the works of Mons. Sanson, London, 1693. — H. W. F.

\* Among the books belonging to this Library now in the Athenaeum are five whose titles do not appear on this Register. But the books themselves have the royal stamp on their covers, and I therefore insert their titles here. They are Samuel Newman's "Concordance to the Bible" London, 1658, folio; Lamb's "Fresh Suit against Independency." London, 1677, 8vo., and his "Sto to the Course of Separation," London, 1693, 12mo.; John Eli's "Articulus XXXIX. Defensio." Amst. 1696, 12mo.; and Simson's "Christian Dictionary," London, 1678, folio. — H. W. F.

## JUNE MEETING, 1881.

The stated meeting was held on Thursday the 9th instant, at 3 o'clock P.M.; the President, Mr. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting having been read, the usual monthly reports of the Librarian and Corresponding Secretary were presented.

The President read a letter from Thomas G. Frothingham, Esq., presenting, in the name of James Lord Bowes, Esq., of Liverpool, England, a curious Revolutionary relic, well described by the inscription which it bears: "Lyme, March the 9th, A.D. 1776. Major Samuel Selden's P Horn, made for the defence of liberty." This powder-horn is adorned with a plan of the British defences and the American works on Boston Neck. The grateful acknowledgments of the Society were voted to Mr. Bowes and to Mr. Frothingham.

The President also communicated an invitation to the Society from the Bunker Hill Monument Association, to be present at the celebration of the one hundred and sixth anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill at Charlestown on June 17; and an invitation from Mr. T. G. Frothingham to the hospitalities of his house in Monument Square on the same occasion.

The Librarian, Dr. GREEN, mentioned a fact in connection with the tablet holding the Prescott and Linzee swords, which appeared to have escaped the printed records. It was given to the Society in the autumn of 1859 by our Associate, Henry Austin Whitney, Esq., and was made by Auguste Eliaers, a skilful designer and worker in wood. The inscription was prepared by Mr. Whitney, and set up in type for the use of the carver by the late Dr. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff.\*

The President presented, in behalf of the author, a copy of an interesting volume, entitled "Le Comte de Circourt,

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\* A heliotype of this tablet makes the frontispiece to this volume. It was prepared to illustrate the oration delivered before the Bunker Hill Monument Association by the President of this Society, Mr. Winthrop (who is also the President of the Monument Association), on the 17th of June, 1881. The occasion was the unveiling of the statue of Colonel William Prescott, whose sword, by leave of the Council, was displayed toward the close of the oration. A full account of the presentation of these swords to the Society in 1859 will be found in the Proceedings for April of that year, pp. 258-266.—Eds.

son temps, ses écrits : — Madame de Circourt, son salon, ses correspondances." This biographical notice of our late Honorary Member, Count Adolphe de Circourt, has been prepared and printed, as a labor of love, by his friend Colonel Huber-Saladin, now in his eighty-third year. It is a privately printed Memoir offered by the author to the common friends of Count Circourt and himself. The appendix contains a list of Count Circourt's writings, embracing twenty-six still unpublished manuscripts, and nearly two hundred and fifty reviews, essays, and notices, on every variety of subject, communicated by him to different periodicals, and published in them, furnishing a marvellous exhibition of literary labor and accomplishment.

The President presented two maps of Yorktown and vicinity, recently published, embellished with portraits of Revolutionary officers and woodcuts of old Virginia mansions.

An application from the city of Boston for permission to make some additional openings in the walls of the Society's building for the purpose of securing better ventilation of that portion leased from the Society was referred to a Committee consisting of the Treasurer and Messrs. Lodge and Haynes, with full powers.\*

The first section being called upon, Mr. DEANE said : —

I wish, Mr. President, to call the attention of the Society to a question of bibliography which has excited the interest of readers of New England history for a good many years, but which has, until recently, met with no satisfactory solution. Many of our members are aware that, shortly before the Restoration of Charles II., there was issued in London a small quarto volume, containing four distinct tracts, each separately paged, and with a general titlepage covering the whole, entitled "America Painted to the Life," and further reciting, at great length, the contents of the volume as containing the history of the Spanish proceedings, from Columbus downward, and also the history of New England from the year 1628 to 1658, &c. "Publisht by Ferdinando Gorges, Esq.," and "Printed for Nath. Brooke at the Angel in Cornhill. 1659."

The book, a copy of which I now hold in my hand, is a very singular production. But it is no part of my present purpose to give a minute or lengthened analysis of its con-

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\* The Committee decided to allow the proposed alterations asked by the city. — Eds.

tents, so well known to historical readers. The first and the last tracts in the volume were compiled or authorized by Ferdinando Gorges, Esq.,\* as he is styled, in distinction from Sir Ferdinando Gorges, his grandfather. Sir Ferdinando died in 1647, leaving a son John (his oldest son), who died in 1657. John was the father of Ferdinando Gorges, Esq., who, on the death of his father, inherited his grandfather's claim to the Province of Maine. The second tract is the well-known "Briefe Narration" of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, found among his papers by his grandson; and, though "left unfinished" by the writer, is a most valuable contribution to New England history. It was reprinted in 1837 by this Society, and in 1847 by the Maine Historical Society. The third tract in the volume is neither more nor less than Edward Johnson's "Wonder-working Providence of Sions Saviour, in New England," as its running title reads, being the very sheets of a work of 236 pages published by this same Nath. Brooke, "at the Angel, in Cornhill. 1654," and entitled, "A History of New England," &c.; but without the name of the author. A copy with this earlier and legitimate title I have also brought to the meeting. The appearance of these sheets in the volume, with a false titlepage headed "America Painted to the Life," and reciting that the work was "written by Sir Ferdinando Gorges," and "Published since his decease by his grand-child, Ferdinando Gorges, Esquire, who hath much enlarged it and added several accurate Descriptions of his owne," and prefaced by an address to the reader, evidently written by the author of, and intended for, the preceding tract, has given rise to the inquiry, By whose agency was this fraud perpetrated? As Gorges was the acknowledged editor of the volume, and here speaks in his own name, some have hastily concluded that the fraud was authorized by him. That he found a willing coadjutor in the publisher, who had a not unnatural wish to work off the unsold sheets of a book of which neither may have known the author, was as readily conceded. But what motive Gorges could have had to attempt to palm off on the public such a Puritan medley as the "Wonder-working Providence," as the work of his grandfather, no one could

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\* The volume, as I have said, consists of four tracts. The first and last were dated 1659, the second and third were dated 1658, and some have inferred that they were originally issued separately, or that those bearing the same date were published together, distinct from the others. It is believed, however, that the volume, when found in its original condition, uniformly contains the four tracts. The signatures indicate that the first and second tracts were *printed*, or set up, at the same time.

divine. If his purpose in publishing the genuine tract of Sir Ferdinando, with his own abridgment of it, and his comments on his grandfather's services in the cause of colonization, had been to strengthen his own claims to the territory which he had inherited from him, he must have seen that, to whatever party or to whatever influence he appealed, no one could be deceived into believing that the "Wonder-working Providence" came from the same loyal pen which wrote the "Briefe Narration." The act would have been worse than a crime; it would have been a blunder. In no other way could Gorges so effectually have damaged his own cause.

The publishing committee of the sixth volume of the third series of this Society's Collections, in which Sir Ferdinando's tract is reprinted, attribute this act to the "singular ignorance or consummate fraud" of F. Gorges, Esq. The late George Folsom, in a prefatory note to the same work, published in the second volume of the Maine Historical Collections, attributes the fraud to the publisher, as being influenced by the motive attributed above. "Yet some historical writers," he says, "have not hesitated to make this matter a subject of reproach to the younger Gorges, as if the deception had been practised by his agency, of which there is not the slightest evidence. For all that is now known, the deception, when it came to his knowledge, may have been denounced by him in proper terms. At all events, so far as appears from the occasional notices of this gentleman, especially in respect to the maintenance of his hereditary rights against the claims of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, he bore a highly honorable character, and acquitted himself in that controversy with firmness and independence."

Mr. Folsom was right. In a catalogue of books prepared by our Corresponding Member, Henry Stevens, of London, to be sold at Sotheby's auction rooms, London, July 11-15, 1881, recently received by me, I find the following note, by Mr. Stevens, appended to Lot 247, Gorges's "America Painted to the Life":—

"One of the most difficult of books relating to New England to find complete with all the four Parts. Gorges has been much blamed for pirating, or rather appropriating, Johnson's *Wonder Working Providence*, published by N. Brooke, in 1654, and, by cancelling title and preface, incorporating it entire in this work, with new title and introduction. We are now, for the first time, enabled to explain this matter, and clear Gorges of the imputation of literary thievery. Johnson's book belonged to Brooke, and, not being swift of



sale, after four years, when publishing Gorges's book, he took upon himself the responsibility of working in and off his dead stock. As soon as Gorges found out this trick of his publisher, he inserted in the *Mercurius Publicus* newspaper of the 13 Sept., 1660, the following

“ ADVERTISEMENT.

“I FERDINANDO GORGES, the entitled Author of a late Book, called AMERICA PAINTED TO THE LIFE, am injured in that additional Part, called SION'S SAVIOUR IN NEW ENGLAND, (as written by SIR FERDINANDO GORGES;) that being none of his, and formerly printed in another name, the true owner.’”

The book had been published some eighteen months before this disclaimer appeared; at least, the indefatigable collector, Thomason, appears to have secured a copy on the 2 March in the preceding year. In what part of England Gorges was living at this precise period I am not aware. The concluding statement in the above “Advertisement,” that the book in question had been formerly printed in another name, is not strictly true, if by “another name” Gorges meant the author's name. All copies that I have seen were printed anonymously, but with a preface signed T. H. What Gorges meant was that the book had been previously issued, with no indication, either by publisher or editor, that Sir Ferdinando Gorges was the author, but under entirely different auspices. He now claims to have been fraudulently dealt with in the publishing of that book, in connection with his own tracts, as having been written by his grandfather.

In conclusion, I ought to add that our Corresponding Member, Mr. Poole, the accomplished librarian of the Chicago Public Library, edited an edition of Johnson, published in Boston in 1867. He examined at great length the question here referred to, and gave judgment against Gorges. It is a satisfaction now to be able to pronounce this controversy of so many years' standing as closed.

Mr. ELLIS AMES spoke of the death of General Poor of Exeter, New Hampshire, in 1781, while in the Revolutionary army, which was ascribed to putrid fever. He stated that he had himself, in 1823, examined critically the accounts obtained from persons cognizant of the transaction, and that in fact General Poor was killed in a duel by the Rev. Mr. Porter, then a major in command of troops from Bridgewater, and an elder brother of the Rev. Eliphalet Porter of

Roxbury. Major Porter was relieved from duty after General Poor's death, but later was appointed by the government as military aid to accompany Lafayette back to France on his return to that country. He afterward embarked for Curaçoa for merchandise, but was never heard of subsequently. His military career began on the 5th of May, 1775, as he was preaching for his father in what is now Brockton, when the report came of an alarm from the British at Weymouth, on which he at once dismissed the meeting and proceeded to the spot.

Mr. ABBOTT LAWRENCE stated that a part of the pulpit, and the deacon's seat of the old Brattle Street Church had been placed in the Cabinet on deposit; and the deposit was accepted by a vote of the Society. The pulpit was imported from England, and presented to the church by Governor Bowdoin.

Mr. C. W. TUTTLE spoke of a recent visit he had made to Bermuda, where he had examined the early records of that colony from 1616, finding, among other things, conveyances of Indian slaves, who from the dates were probably Pequots, and survivors of King Philip's War, sold into slavery by order of the General Court. The government of the island, Mr. Tuttle remarked, is still the same as was established under William III.

The stated meetings for July and August were dispensed with by vote as recommended by the Council; authority being reserved however to the President and Secretary to call a special meeting, if one should be thought advisable.

The President then read the following paper on the portrait of John Hampden, now in the White House at Washington:—

I promised, Gentlemen, at our last meeting, to give some account, this afternoon, of the portrait of the celebrated John Hampden, which is now in the Executive Mansion at Washington. I first saw that portrait in January, 1861, when I accompanied Mr. Everett, Mr. Amos A. Lawrence, and others, to the capital, to bear a memorial from ten or twelve thousand of the citizens of Boston on subjects connected with the then impending Civil War. Mr. Buchanan was President at that time, and, when we were admitted to his library for a conference, I recognized the portrait hanging over one of the doors. It had no inscription of any sort on the frame or elsewhere, and Mr. Buchanan was too much engrossed with the gravest public affairs to give more than a

passing assent to my remark on the great interest of the picture. I then knew little or nothing of its history.

Nine or ten years afterward, when the Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund were dining with President Grant, I recognized the portrait again, and on making some allusion to it at the dinner-table, I found that nothing was remembered about it by others, and that there might even be danger of its being put out of sight as an unknown head, neither ornamental nor appropriate to the Executive Mansion. I took the earliest occasion, therefore, to hunt up the record, and to communicate the result to those who would be sure to take an interest in it. The name of John Hampden was thereupon affixed to the frame.

Seven or eight years later, when the Presidential Mansion had passed into other occupancy, I had reason to fear, on revisiting Washington, that the simple name — John Hampden — had not secured for the portrait the full consideration which it merited, and a somewhat more detailed inscription was substituted by the kind intervention of Mrs. Hayes. Yet even now there may be a serious doubt whether the interest and value of the portrait are appreciated by those who look at it, and I promised President Garfield last month, or the month before the last, when I was again at Washington, that I would put its history into a shape in which it could be no longer in danger of being forgotten or misunderstood.

With this view, I have turned to the Journal of the United States Senate, Aug. 14, 1856, as printed in the "Congressional Globe," where the late Hon. James A. Pearce, of Maryland, then chairman of the Congressional Library Committee on the part of the Senate, introduced the matter as follows:—

MR. PEARCE.—Mr. President, I have received a letter from the late Minister of the United States at the Court of London, enclosing a letter to him from Mr. John Macgregor, who is well known as a great statistic, and as Secretary of the Board of Trade of England. This gentleman desires to present to Congress a portrait of John Hampden, the great champion of civil liberty. I ask that the letter may be read; after which I shall submit a resolution to the Senate.

The Secretary read the letter, as follows:—

ATHENÆUM CLUB, 19 March, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,—You having been so kind as to forward the portrait of the patriot Hampden, to be presented from me to the Congress of the United States, I think it proper for me to say something of the facts, as far as I have ascertained them, as to its authenticity.

It was formerly in the possession of Sir Richard Ellis, of Buckingham-

shire. His family, in the male line, became extinct, and it, with several portraits, passed into the possession of collateral heirs, and one of those, almost fifteen years ago, on repairing and altering his house, gave the old portraits to a decorator and gilder, of the name of Westby, to sell. Westby was at the same time employed by me in decorating and gilding my house in which I lived, in Lowndes Square, and in which our mutual friend, Lady Talbot de Malahide, now resides. From Westby I bought Sir John \* Lely's portrait of Lord William Russell, and this portrait of Hampden, attributed to Vandyck, in his earliest and more finished manner. Houbraken engraved from it his portrait of Hampden for his large historical collection. I send you this engraved portrait. Houbraken was a somewhat harsh engraver, and took liberties with the costumes, though he generally preserved the likeness. In this engraving it will be observed that every feature, the moustache, and hair are strikingly correct, the coloring making the only difference. There is an ivory bust, very like, taken from it, at the seat of the Earl of Buckinghamshire. There was a fine marble bust, from the painting, at Stowe, before the magnificent collection of the Duke was sold in lots, a few years ago. That bust had on the pedestal the following inscription:—

"JOHN HAMPDEN.—With great courage and consummate abilities he began a noble opposition to an arbitrary Court, in defence of the liberties of his country; supported them in Parliament, and died for them in the field."

It is known that at an early period Hampden, disgusted with the despotism of the King and the Church, contemplated settling in America. He, his cousin Cromwell, and several others, had actually embarked in the Thames, and were prevented from departing by Charles I. It would appear, by the following extract from the history of New England, by Jedediah Morse, D.D., and the Rev. Elijah Parish, that Hampden had previously been in America, when about twenty-eight years of age:—

"In the spring of 1623 Massasoit fell sick, and sent intelligence of it to the Governor, who immediately sent Mr. Winslow and Mr. John Hamden (the same man who afterwards distinguished himself by his opposition to the arbitrary and unjust demands of Charles I.) to pay him a visit. They carried with them presents, and some cordials for his relief. Their visit and presents were very consolatory to the venerable chief, and were the means of his recovery. In return for their kindness he informed them of a dangerous conspiracy among the neighboring Indians, the object of which was the total extinction of the English. By means of this timely discovery, and the consequent spirited exertions of the Governor, whose wise plans were executed by the brave Captain Standish, the colony was once more saved from destruction."

These circumstances not only associate the name of Hampden with America, but with the origin and rise of her political, civil, and religious liberties. It was these historical facts, and the honest interest which I take in your magnificent country, that suggested to me presenting the portrait of the great patriot to your national Congress.

Wishing, with all sincerity, your safe arrival and happy meeting with your friends, and assuring you that I shall, through life, retain the warmest recollection of the happy and instructive times I have had the pleasure of enjoying your society,

Believe me faithfully yours,

J. MACGREGOR.

The Hon. JAMES BUCHANAN, &c., &c., &c.

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\* Probably a mistake in copying for Sir Peter Lely.

MR. PEARCE. — Mr. President, It will be perceived by the Senate, from Mr. Macgregor's letter, that the portrait which he now offers us is attributed to the pencil of Vandyck, the greatest portrait painter known after Titian. Vandyck died in England, in the year 1641, after having painted the portraits of many of the illustrious men of that period. It is not at all unreasonable to suppose, therefore, especially when the peculiar style of the portrait is observed, that it is really his work. If it be not, however, it can be ascribed to no source less distinguished than Sir Peter Lely, who went to England in 1641, and succeeded Vandyck in reputation and in business. Whether it be the one or the other, the portrait is of value, and special value, from the great fame and reputation of either the one or the other artist, and to no other can it be attributed. Sir Peter Lely painted in the style of Vandyck. It is possible, therefore, it may be his work, and not that of Vandyck. But, as I cannot discover the cypher which it was the custom of Sir Peter to put on all his portraits, I conclude, as Mr. Macgregor states, that this picture is by Vandyck. It has all the ease and grace of his style; the figure has his favorite attitude, and the picture is every way worthy of him. Be that as it may, it is valuable as the work of a great artist. It is still more valuable on account of the great historical interest which attaches to the name of John Hampden, the purest of all the patriots and champions of freedom in England, who offered up his life in defence of popular rights against royal and despotic prerogative. It derives a further interest from the incidents mentioned by Morse, and quoted in Mr. Macgregor's letter, which connect Hampden with an important event in the early history of one of the States of our Union. I suppose that, taking into consideration all these things, the reputation of the artist, the value of the portrait itself as a work of art, the historical interest of the personage whom it represents, and, I will add, the character of Mr. Macgregor himself as a distinguished statish, a man of high reputation generally, and, what naturally enough touches us still more, a very liberal friend of our country, there will be no hesitation in accepting it, with a proper appreciation of the gift.

The Committee on the Library think the President's house is the most appropriate place in which to put this portrait. I ask leave to introduce a joint resolution for that purpose.

Leave was granted, by unanimous consent, to introduce the joint resolution (S. No. 40) accepting the portrait of John Hampden, presented to Congress by John Macgregor, and it was read twice by its title, and considered as in Committee of the Whole. It is:—

*Resolved, &c.,* That the portrait of John Hampden, presented to Congress by John Macgregor, be accepted, and the Joint Committee on the Library be directed to cause the same to be properly framed, and placed in the Executive Mansion.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

On the 10th of January, 1857, the foregoing Resolution from the Senate was reported to the United States House of Representatives, by Governor Aiken, of South Carolina, from the Library Committee of the House to which it had been referred, and was passed accordingly.

In the eleventh volume of the "United States Statutes at Large," at page 253, will be found the Joint Resolution of Congress, as passed by both branches, and as approved by President Franklin Pierce, as follows:—

*"A Resolution accepting the portrait of John Hampden, presented to Congress by John Macgregor.*

*"Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Portrait of John Hampden, presented to Congress by John Macgregor, be accepted; and the Joint Committee on the Library of Congress be and they are hereby directed to cause the same to be properly framed and placed in the Executive Mansion.*

*"APPROVED, January 13, 1857."*

I trust that the order for it to be "properly framed" did not involve the discarding of any antique frame which came with the picture, which might have afforded another clew to its history, and which no tawdry modern gilding could replace. I fear it must have been so, however, as it hardly seems credible that it should have been sent over from England, as a present to the United States, without any frame. But it is too late to inquire into this part of the subject.

There are, however, several points in the letter of Mr. Macgregor which it is important to notice.

1. We all know that the whole story of the patriot Hampden's having been in America in 1623 has been long ago exploded. It is true that Edward Winslow, in his "Relation," or "Good Newes from New England," speaks of "having one Master JOHN HAMDEN, a gentleman of London, who then wintered with us, and desired much to see the country, for my consort, and Hobbamock for our guide." And it is true that Dr. Jedediah Morse and the Rev. Elijah Parish, and many other writers, have taken it for granted that this was the famous patriot. Even our revered founder, Dr. Belknap, accepted and sanctioned this idea, in his Biography of Bradford. But the subject was conclusively disposed of, I think, by our late Associate, Dr. Alexander Young, in a foot-note to the passage from the "Good Newes," as published in his "Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers." That foot-note is as follows:—



"It was conjectured by Belknap, 'American Biography,' vol. ii. p. 229, and has since been repeatedly asserted as a fact by other writers, that this person was the celebrated English patriot of the same name. But this is highly improbable. Hampden, who was born in 1594, and married in 1619, was a member of the Parliament which assembled in January, 1621, and was dissolved by James in 1622, under circumstances and in a juncture of affairs which rendered it certain that a new Parliament must soon be called. It is not at all likely that a person in Hampden's circumstances, a man of family, wealth, and consideration, would, merely for the sake of gratifying his curiosity, have left England at this critical period, on a long voyage to another hemisphere, and run the risk of not being at home at the issuing of the writs for a new Parliament. For the passage to America was at that time precarious; the vessels were few, and the voyage a long one; so that a person who undertook it could not reasonably calculate upon getting back in much less than a year. Winslow's companion, whoever he was, must have come in the 'Charity,' which brought Weston's colony, unless we adopt the improbable supposition that this 'gentleman of London' embarked in one of the fishing vessels that visited the Grand Bank, and took his chance of getting to Plymouth as he could. Now the 'Charity' left London the last of April, 1622, and arrived at Plymouth the last of June. The visit to Massasoit took place in March, 1623, and after this no vessel sailed for England till the 'Ann,' September 10, in which Winslow went home. Of course this 'gentleman of London' must have been absent at least eighteen months, which it is altogether improbable that Hampden would have done, running the risk of not being at home to stand for the next Parliament, to which he undoubtedly expected to be returned; as we know he actually was.

"Besides, had this companion of Winslow been the great English patriot, the silence of the early Plymouth writers on the point is unaccountable. On publishing his 'Good Newes from New England' immediately on his arrival in London, in 1624, one object of which was to recommend the new colony, how gladly would Winslow have appealed for the correctness of his statements to this member of parliament who had passed more than a year in their Plantation. How natural too would it have been for him to have mentioned the fact in his 'Briefe Narration,' published in 1646, only three years after the death of the illustrious patriot. Bradford, also, whose sympathies were all with the popular party in England, in writing an elaborate history of the colony, would not have failed to record the long residence among them of one who, at the time he wrote, had become so distinguished as the leader of that party in the House of Commons. That his lost history contained no such passage we may be certain; for had it been there, it must have been quoted either by Prince or Morton, who make so free use of it, both of whom too mention this visit to Massasoit, and who would not have omitted a circumstance so honorable to the colony.

"Again, Winslow's companion was 'a gentleman of London.' Now



although John Hampden happened to be born in London, when his father was in Parliament in 1594, he was properly of Buckinghamshire. Winslow, who was himself of Worcestershire, if he knew who Hampden was, would not have called him 'a gentleman of *London*'; and we cannot suppose that this English gentleman would have spent so many months in the Colony without making himself known to its two leading men, Winslow and Bradford."

Since this note was written and published by Dr. Young, in 1841, the "lost history" of Bradford, to which it refers, has been found, and has verified his belief "that it contained no such passage." Meantime, Lord Nugent's "Memorials of Hampden" make no reference to any such early visit to New England.

2. Mr. Macgregor's letter makes allusion to the often-repeated story of Hampden and Cromwell and others having actually embarked for America at one time, and being arrested on the Thames in their flight, by order of Charles I. On this subject, also, the same foot-note of Dr. Young's is sufficiently explicit. It proceeds as follows:—

"Equally unfounded is the statement that has gained so wide a currency and become incorporated with the history of those times, and is repeated in Lord Nugent's *Life of Hampden*, that John Hampden, in company with Cromwell, Pym, and Hazelrig, had actually embarked for America on board a fleet in the Thames, in 1638, but were detained by an order from the Privy Council. Miss Aikin, in her *Memoirs of Charles I.*, chap. xiii., was the first to detect and expose this error of the historians."

That John Hampden was warmly interested in the establishment of the Massachusetts Colony, in 1630, has recently been proved by the correspondence which he had with Sir John Eliot, on the subject of Governor Winthrop's "Conclusions for New England," found among Sir John Eliot's papers at Port Eliot, and sent to us by the late John Forster and the late Earl of St. Germans.\* But the romantic tradition of Charles I. preventing, by an arbitrary arrest, the departure of those who were to cost him his crown and his head, has long been discarded, except as a subject for poetry or fiction.

There is, however, enough in the life and death of Hampden to make his portrait pre-eminently welcome and appropriate for the Executive Mansion or the National Gallery of our country. As one of the great champions of English liberty, the brave resister of ship-money, whose death on the

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\* See Proceedings of Mass. Hist. Soc. for July, 1865.

battle-field recalls that of our own Warren, and whose life and character recall those of our own Washington, he has a special claim to the admiration and homage of all who are enjoying the freedom for which he toiled and bled.

3. But the more important item of Mr. Macgregor's letter is that relating to the portrait itself, and to the manner in which it came into his own possession. The statements that it came from an ancient mansion in Buckinghamshire, which was Hampden's county; that Houbraken engraved from it his historical portrait of Hampden; that a fine marble bust was taken from it for the old Duke of Buckingham at Stowe, and an ivory bust for the Earl of Buckinghamshire, — speak for themselves. That it was attributed to Vandyck, and in his earliest and most finished manner, is also added, while Senator Pearce suggests a question whether it were the work of Vandyck or Sir Peter Lely. All this might fairly furnish a subject for investigation, inspection, and examination by artists and connoisseurs. Meantime, it must not be forgotten, that Lord Nugent, in the preface to his *Life of Hampden*, published in 1832, speaks of the portrait belonging to Lord St. Germans, at Port Eliot, and which was given by Hampden's son Richard to the son of Sir John Eliot, "as, in his opinion, the only original of John Hampden in existence." Of this latter portrait there is a beautiful engraving in the first volume of Lord Nugent's *Life*, which I have compared with the Houbraken print, of which I have a copy; and it seems to me that there is sufficient likeness between them to show that they were of the same person, and difference enough to show that they were engravings of different original paintings.

The Macgregor portrait may have been quietly on the walls of the old Buckinghamshire mansion in 1832, and may not have been known to Lord Nugent. It is a bold thing for any one to assume that there is but one original portrait of so illustrious a man, who was in the way of being painted by Vandyck and Sir Peter Lely and Oliver, and Walker and Cooper, and other eminent artists of his day. I have heard this very portrait at Washington called one of the only two originals of Hampden; but it would not surprise me if a third and a fourth, and perhaps more, should be found in some of the private galleries of England.

The career and character of Mr. Macgregor give interest to the portrait and authenticity to his statements in regard to it. He was a Scotchman by birth, but had spent many years in Canada in commercial pursuits. He was a voluminous

author on statistical and commercial topics, and particularly interested in all that related to America. He published, among other works, "A Sketch of British America," in 1828; "Commercial and Financial Legislation of Europe and America," in 1841; "Commercial Statistics of all Nations," in five volumes, 1844-50; "Progress of America from the Discovery by Columbus to 1846," in two volumes, 1847; "Holland and the Dutch Colonies," and "Germany and her Resources," both in 1848; and a "History of the British Empire from the Accession of James I.," in two volumes, 1852. He was for some time a Secretary of the Board of Trade, and a member of Parliament for Glasgow in 1847. He died 23 April, 1857, a few months after this portrait was acknowledged by Congress. I sincerely hope that the acknowledgment may have reached England before it was too late.

I will only add that such a portrait, from such a source, and of such an original, deserves every care and every honor which can be paid to it; and that it might well have such a place in the Executive Mansion, or in some National Gallery, as would bring it more within the reach of public observation and admiration.

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